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THE

FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

(FROM HINDU SOURCES)

BY

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY
I. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.

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1914

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NAMES OF VALUE OF THE STATE OF THE STA

THE PROMOTERS OF
THE HINDU UNIVERSITY OF BENARES
FOR THEIR NOBLE EPPORTS TOWARDS THE
CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT
OF

HINDU LEARNING AND CULTURE IN THE SERVICE OF HUMANITY. " खर्च चर्चें वा राजा विकासित द्वां परमताव के यं शाया जं भीजां खाराजां पारते वार्च राज्यं साथाराजां व्याधिपातां व्यक्तं यसनापवी वीच्यां चार्वभी सः चार्यो गुण्यं व्यास्थापराद्यात् प्रथिकी सम्भपवेताया कराजिति।"

-Aitareya Brāhmaņa, [VIII. i. 39.]

["It is my desire to attain to superiority, preeminence and overlordship among all kings, to acquire an all-embracing authority by achieving all forms and degrees of sovereignty, to achieve the conquest of both space and time and be the sole monarch of the earth up to the seas."]

[" And this is the chiefest conquest in the option of His Sacard Majesty—the Conquest of Dharma—and this conquest, again, has been won by HHs Sacard Majesty both in his own dominions and in all the neighbouring realms as far as six hundred leagues—where the Grack to when dealth of the control of the control of the to when dwall the four great hings severally named Plolemy, Antigonos, Magas and Aloxander; and in the count (her verlams of the) Cholas, and Pindjas, with Ceylon likewise—and here, too, in the King's dominions, among the Xonas and Kinnbojas, among the Nabhapatits of Nābhaka, among the Bhojas and Pitinlikas, among the Xonas and Kinnbojas, among the Nabha-

PREFACE

This brochure is based on an article which I contributed to the Daum and Daum Society's Magazine in January, 1909. In its present form it was delivered as an address to the Calcutta University Institute in March last under the presidency of Sir Gooroodass Banerji, Kt., M.A., D.L., Ph.D., Ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Calcutta University; and it was reproduced in the pages of The Modern Review for April. It is now published with several additions and alterations.

In this work I have not dwelt upon the important evidence of the fundamental unity of India furnished by the social and religious institutions of the country, but have confined my attention mainly to its geographical basis. I am deeply indebted to Dr. Brajendranath Seal, M.A., Ph.D., King George V. Professor of Philosophy of the Calcutta University, for many valuable suggestions I received from him.

Mr. Nundolal Dey, M.A., B.L., the author of "A Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediæval India," has also laid me under great obligation by preparing for the book a Map of Ancient India. My thanks are also due to the Hon. Pandit Madanmohon Malaviya for kindly revising the proofs.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to the Hon. Maharaja Manindra Chandra Nandy of Cossimbazar for the generous support he has accorded to me in the preparation of this work.

RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI.

Berhampore (Bengal), August, 1918.

INTRODUCTION

MR. MOOKERIT RADHARIIMUD honoured me by asking me to write an introduction to his interesting book. To those who follow the work of the band of Indian historical students who are struggling, with no great measure of encouragement, to found a school native to the soil and inspired by Indian tradition, Mr. Mookerii's books need no introduction, especially since he published his History of Indian Shipping. In this little book he attempts to lay the only foundation upon which an Indian Historical School can rest. If India is a mere geographical expression, a mere collection of separate peoples, traditions, and tongues existing side by side but with no sense of nationhood in common. Indian history cannot be the record of an evolution of a civilization—it can be nothing more than an account of raids, conflicts, relations of conquerors and conquered. That this is the common view is only too true; that a superficial view of India lends all its weight to that view is only too apparent; that it is the view of many of the present governors is proclaimed without secrecy from Ceylon to Afghanistan.

Those who read this book will find that there is another view, and that the Hindu, at any rate, from his traditions and his religion, regards India not only as a political unit naturally the subject of one sovereignty—whoever holds that sovereignty, whether British, Mohammedan, or Hindu—but as the outward embodiment, as the temple—nay, even as the goddess mother—of his spiritual culture. India and Hinduism are organically related as body and soul. Nationality is at best a difficult thing to define, to test and

establish. The barren controversies on the subject to which the demands of Ireland for Home Rule have led, prove that. But the Aryan settled it decisively so far as India and himself are concerned. He made India the symbol of his culture; he filled it with his soul. In his consciousness it was his greater self. How he did it Mr. Mookerji shows in his interesting chapters.

Mr. Mookerji writes only of history, but it is a history which we read with political thoughts in our mind. It is this history quickened into life which is giving us our Indian political problems. What share has the Mohammedan in it? Perhaps much greater than we think. The Pax Britannica does not merely shelter weak men; it is also a shade under which liberal political ideas take root and flourish. And nationalism cannot be dissociated from liberal political ideas. To amplify and discuss this would be out of place here, and Mr. Mookerji

would not wish me to use the privileges of an introduction to widen until it passes into current political controversy the historical field of his study. But these thoughts have been in my mind as they will no doubt be in that of everyone who reads this book, and I have been anxious to indicate that in my opinion, at any rate, the unity of India will not remain exclusively a Hindu conception, although its origin may be in Hindu culture.

Many people imagine that this Indian nationhood is only a disturbing element in politics. But that is a mistake. It is a reviving influence on culture. Indeed, in some respects, its political expressions are its crudest and most ill-formed embediments. We have it best—if, as yet, in no very great volume—in art and literature. In art, as in education, we have been proclaiming, in our vanity, that India had to learn the Western tone and touch, with the result that Indian art

has been debased and every spontaneous thought crushed out of it. But life returned through the nationalist revival. Nothing has ever struck me with more force than the contrast between the ugly daubs which compose an art exhibition in India held under Western auspices and the product of Western "inspiration" on the one hand, and the beautiful harmonies of form and colour which the Indian Art. Society brings together on the other. And it is interesting to note how in this art the spirit of India is not merely Mr. Tagore's great painting "The Death of Shah Jehan," is as essentially Persian as his "Spirit of India" is Hindu. Moreover, in literature, are we not at present in the midst of a "Gitanjali" puja-all unconscious that it is the refined expression of Indian nationalism? Finally, there are the students of intellectual culture with whom Mr. Mookerji himself co-operates, gathering together the scattered records of Indian achievement so that they may be known and due homage paid to the people who accomplished them. Thus India awakes anew to a sense of independence and self-respect, and only by such an awakening can she contribute her share to the culture of the world.

J. RAMSAY MACDONALD.

THE ARGUMENT

- I. The primary factor of Nationality is the possession of a common country—a common fatherland is preliminary to all national development—the formation of an Indian nation must wait on the realisation by the Indians of the whole of India as their common mother country, claiming their loyalty and service.
- But is India a single country? Difference of opinion among European and Anglo-Indian scholars.
- III. The geographical unity of India is easily missed in her immensity and variety an account of India's vastness and variety the variety only contributes to her vealth and strength and economic self-sufficiency.

IV. To superficial observation the whole is lost in the parts—the fundamental unity of India is, however, acknowledged by many competent authorities.

V. But this unity is generally traced to the influence of British rule in India—it has really a long history, and has been an element in the historic consciousness of the Hindus from a remote age—the oldest expression of this unity was the name Bhāratawarsa, which the ancient Hindus applied to India—the full significance of the name indicating the Aryanisation of India.

VI.-VII. Further expressions of the old Hindu consciousness of Indian geographical unity in the Vedic and subsequent literature—the river-hymn of the 'Rig-Veda' and its epic adaptation with expanding geographical horizon—other later hymns which have passed into national daily prayers—their effects on popular consciousness in aneakening it to a sense of the individuality and sacredness of the whole of India from end to end.

VIII. The feeling for the fatherland finds frequent expression in Sanskrit literature.

IX. A permanent and characteristically Indian expression of this feeling is in the network of shrines and sacred places by which the country has been covered—the institution of pilgrimage as an expression of love for the motherland, of appreciation of Art and Nature—pilgrimage as a means of acquiring an intimate knowledge of the country in olden times before the era of modern travelling facilities—the lists of Hindu holy places in Sanskrit titerature show complete familiarity with every part of India.

X. Corresponding to the Hindu expression of love for the motherland is the Buddhist expression of the feeling in the multitude of monuments with which it beautified the whole country—enumeration of these monuments showing the vast area unified by a common impulse.

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XI. The geographical knowledge of the whole of India and, consequently, the perception of its unity was itself the development of centuries.

XII. History of the development of this knowledge—the geographical horizon in the Vedic age—the extension of the limits of Vedic India in the 'Aitareya Brāhmana.'

XIII. Probable period of the colonisation of Southern India—evidences from Panini and oldest Pali texts—the geographical horizon between the Vedic and early Buddhist periods.

XIV. The whole of India was known at least as early as the fourth century B.O.—the evidence of Kātyāyana.—Greek evidence—the geographical data in the 'Arthaāstra' of Kautilya—the geography of the Asoka Edicts.

XV. The geography of Patañjali (150 B.O.)—of the Rāmāyana—and of the Mahābhārata.

XVI. The geography of the Purānas—of the Brihatsanhitā of Varāhamihira, showing an intimate knowledge of all parts of India.

XVII. The geography of Kālidāsa end of the account of the development of Indian geographical knowledge.

XVIII. The sense of the unity of the whole country was promoted, not only by religion as shown above, but also by politics—rulers of India who established their sway over the whole country, and consequently comtemplated and used it as a unit—the oldest of them is generally thought to be Chandragupta.

XIX. But the institution of paramount sovereignty was much older than Chandragupta—it was a familiar political idea of the ancient Hindus—evidence on the subject —the terms for a paramount sovereign in Vedic literature.

XX. The 'Aitareya Brūhmana' and 'Śukranīti' on the grades of kingly power the Vedic terms for overlordship.

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XXI. Further Vedic evidence—the ceremonies specifically fixed for the coronations of emperors—significance of the details and procedure of the Vājapeya.

XXII. Significance of the details of the Rājasāya.

XXIII. Significance of the imperial inaugurations as described in the 'Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.'

XXIV. The ideal of Hindu kingship was nothing short of universal sovereignty, which meant at the least sovereignty of the whole of India "up to the seas"—the consciousness of the territorial synthesis leads to the political synthesis, and is itself strenathened by the latter.

XXV. Ideals of an all-India overlordship are, however, preserved in Sanskrit literature, along with their concrete embediments—lists of such paramount kings—in the 'Aitarega Brāhmana'—in the 'Satapatha Brāhmana'—in the 'Sainkhāgama Sutra'. XXVI. The lists of such kings in the Purinas—in the Mahābhārata—the Arthaśāstra on the conception of an all-India overlord.

XXVII. The conquests of the Pāndavas leading to the establishment of their paramount sovereignty under Yudhisthira—the resulting political unification of India

XXVIII. Popularisation of the idea of an all-India sovereignty through the story of Yudhishira—the current Hindu political notion of a Chakravartti Rāja has shaped early Buddhist speculation about the true position and work of the Buddha—the Buddha was the spiritual sovereign who ruled supreme over the empire of righteousness in the hearts of men.

XXIX. Thus the sovereignty of Chandragupta Maurya was only a further stage in the development of an old institution—the idea become a common topic of discussion in the works on Hindu Polity—treatment of the problem, "How can a king become a king of kings?" in our Niti-Sastras—the conception of the balance of power in a political system or sphere described therein.

XXX. The evidence of Inscriptions as to the strength and popularity of the ideal of a paramount sovereignty governing the whole of India.

XXXI. Another conclusive evidence bearing on the popular realisation of Indian anity is the Indian colonisations resulting in the development of a Greater India across the seas.

XXXII. Besides the historical factor, there are physical factors in constant operation which establish the geographical unity of India—comparison of the barriers which separate its internal parts from those that separate it from the surrounding external countries—the effects of the monsoons in creating uniform physical conditions.

XXXIII. The destiny and message of India.

THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA

(from Hindu Sources)

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There are various elements necessary in the making of a nation such as a common language, a common religion, a common government and a common culture and social economy, but perhaps the most fundamental and indispensable factor is the possession of a common country, a fixed, definite abode. Even nationality has a material physical basis without which it can hardly manifest and assert itself as a real existence and factor in the political world. History shows no authentic record of nomadic peoples

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developing to any great extent in civilisation until and unless they bound themselves to a fixed habitation and rid themselves of their migratory instincts and habits. The Hebrew people, in spite of the political training they received from Moses, could not achieve much progress until Joshua settled them in Palestine So also what the historians call the Dark Age of Europe is but the period of unrest and transition when the barbarians left their old homes, overran and disorganised the Roman Empire, but were themselves without any fixed local habitation. "The Athenians under Themistocles saved the State of Athens on their ships, because after the victory they again took possession of their city; but the Teutones and Cimbri perished, because they left their old homes and failed to conquer a new one."

The spirit, according to Hindu philosophy, clothes itself in the body in and through which it works; it needs a

vehicle, an instrument, a physical framework whereby it expresses and outshapes itself in the external world of matter. And it seems that the same principle applies in respect of the spirit of nationality. The primary requisite for the birth and growth of a nation is the certainty, fixity and permanence of place, and when that is assured the other formative forces will appear and make themselves felt in due course. A common fatherland is preliminary to all national development: round that living nucleus will naturally gather all those feelings, associations. traditions, and other elements which go to make up a people's language and literature, religion and culture, and thereby establish its separate existence and individuality, demanding its preservation and independent development as a valuable cultural unit. The unifying influence of a common country, of common natural surroundings is indeed irresistible, and the assertion may be safely made that it will

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be effectively operative against other disintegrating, disruptive forces and tendencies such as differences in manners and customs, language and religion.

The formation of a composite, federal Indian nation is one of the most interesting of modern political possibilities because of the great and unusual difficulties surrounding that movement. But the very first step towards the solution of those difficulties is clearly the cognisance of the fundamental fact that the diverse races and peoples making up the vast mass of Indian humanity cannot be welded together into a living nation, a puissant political force, unless in the first place they can understand and feel that they have a common country to love and to serve, that they all belong to one motherland, that they are all children of the same soil. Without this expanded geographical consciousness in the people the cherished dreams of the impatient political idealist about an Indian nation

in the making will ever be remote from realisation.

Π

But unfortunately it has become by no means easy to think of India as a single country. No picture of India is now more familiar to the Indian mind than that which represents it to be a continent. or a collection of many countries rather than one country. For this is the picture that is drawn in most of the standard works on Indian Geography taught in our schools. An English author of a geography for Indian schools introduces his book with the following remarks: "India is commonly thought of and spoken of as a single country. But this is not true India is rather a collection of countries." According to Sir John Strachey, the great Anglo-Indian authority, "this is the first and most essential thing to learn about India-that

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there is not and never was an India or even any country of India, possessing, according to European ideas, any sort of unity, physical, political " But Anglo-Indian opinion itself is however by no means unanimous on this point. Mr. Vincent A. Smith, the well-known authority on early Indian History, has delivered himself in a quite different strain: "India, encircled as she is by seas and mountains, is indisputably a geographical unit, and as such is rightly designated by one name." Equally positive and emphatic are the following words of Chisholm, one of the best known authorities on Geography: "There is no part of the world better marked out by Nature as a region by itself than India, exclusive of Burma. It is a region indeed full of contrasts in physical features and in climate, - but the features that divide it as a whole from ' surrounding regions are too clear to be overlooked."

III

The fact is that the geographical unity of India is apt to be lost sight of in her immensity and variety. It is difficult to imagine the vast territory that stretches from North to South over a distance exceeding 2,000 miles and from East to West over a distance of more than 1.900 miles as one continuous territory. The total area included within its limits is about two-thirds of that of the continent of Europe. It is nearly fourteen times as large as Great Britain and over ten times the size of the entire British Isles. It is more than six times the area of either France or Germany. This immensity of her geographical extension has naturally induced those physical conditions which have made of India pre-eminently the land of varieties, 'the

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epitome of the world.' It is the land, primarily, of as many latitudes as altitudes. The temperature ranges from the singularly dry and bracing cold of the Himalayas culminating in eternal snows to the humid, tropical heat of the Konkan and Coromandel coast. The surface rises from the sea-level to heights above the limits of vegetation, above cloud and rain and storm, merged in eternal sunshine. Its climates vary, on the one hand, from torrid and tropical to arctic and polar including between the extremes various shades of the mean or temperate, and, on the other, from almost absolute aridity to a maximum of humidity. The rainfall ranges from 460 inches at Cherrapooniee to less than even 8 inches in Upper Sind. This amazing variety of latitudes and altitudes, temperature and moisture, produces a corresponding variety in flora and fauna. The range of climatic zones determines that of Botanical as well as Zoological

Thus, according to Sir J. D. Hooker.1 the flora of India is more varied than that of any other country of equal area in the eastern hemisphere, if not in the globe. As regards the richness of the Indian fauna, the following testimony of Mr. Blandford is sufficient: "Animal life is not only abundant in British India, but it is remarkably varied. The number of kinds of animals inhabiting India and its dependencies is very large, far surpassing, for instance, that of the species found in the whole of Europe, although the superficial area of Europe exceeds that of the Indian Empire by about one-half." This extraordinary richness and variety of the flora and fauna of India necessarily imply a corresponding richness and variety in her vegetable and animal products, endowing her with a degree of economic self-sufficiency which falls to

^e Ibid, p. 213.

¹ Imperial Gasetteer, new ed., Vol. I., p. 157.

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the lot of but few countries in the world. As Mr. Lilly puts it, the products of India 'include everything needed for the service of man.' But / scarcely less than this physical variety is the human variety which India presents with her teeming millions. They absorb so much as a fifth of the whole human race, including races and peoples belonging to all stages and states of social evolution and civilisation with languages, manners and customs, cults and cultures of the most diverse kinds. There are in India no less than seven main physical types of races introducing varieties of physical form in the population; no less than fourteen separate peoples or nationalities with their own languages and literature; no less than 150 different tongues producing a veritable Babel of languages1; and, finally, nearly

According to Dr. Cust, "no less than 539 languages and dialects, cultivated and uncultivated, in the whole of India and its bordering regions."

all the world-religions, each claiming more than a million of worshippers. India is verily a museum of cults and customs, creeds and cultures, faiths and tongues, racial types and social systems.

IV

Superficial observers are therefore liable to be bewildered by this astonishing variety in Indian life and geography. They lack that power of perception which dives beneath appearances and externals and sees into the life of things. They thus fail to discover the One in the Many, the Individual in the Aggregate, the Simple in the Composite. With them, the whole is lost in the parts, nay, the parts are greater than the whole, as in the old adage of blind men 'seeing' the

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elephant. The fact is that an exclusive dependence upon mere sense-impressions, mere sense-contact with external phenomena, cannot carry us very far: for the senses cannot take us beyond the apparent and the objective. What is needed is the superior interpreting, integrating, synthetising power of the mind that instead of being overpowered by the multitude of details will master them and rise above them to a vision of the whole.

A keen, penetrating insight can hardly fail to recognise that beneath all this manifold variety there is a fundamental unity; that this diversity itself, far from being a source of weakness, is a fertile source of strength and wealth. As Sir Herbert Risley has truly observed: "Beneath the manifold diversity of physical and social type, language, custom and religion which strikes the observer in India there can still be discerned, as Mr. Yusuf Ali has pointed out, a certain

underlying uniformity¹ of life from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin." The last Indian Census Commissioner, Mr. E. A. Gait, I.C.s., has also recorded the same conclusion: "The people of India as a whole can be distinguished from those of Europe by certain broad characteristics." While, according to Mr. Vincent A. Smith, speaking from his long and first-hand experience of India, the civilisation of India "has many features which differentiate it from that of all other regions of the world; while they are

¹ One aspect of this unity has been thus explained by Monier Williams (Hinduism, page 13): "India, though it has, as we have seen, more than 500 spoken dialects. has only one sacred language and only one sacred literature, accepted and revered by all adherents of Hinduism alike, however diverse in race, dialect, rank, and creed, That language is Sanskrit, and that literature is Sanskrit literature—the only repository of the Veda or 'knowledge' in its widest sense; the only vehicle of Hindu theology, philosophy, law and mythology; the only mirror in which all the creeds, opinions, customs, and usages of the Hindus are faithfully reflected; and (if we may be allowed a fourth metaphor) the only quarry whence the requisite materials may be obtained for improving the vernaculars or for expressing important religious and scientific ideas."

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common to the whole country or rather continent in a degree sufficient to justify its treatment as a unit in the history of human social and intellectual development."

10

It is generally recognised and admitted on all hands that this Indian unitis is largely, if not solely, the creation of the British rule, a by-product of the Pax Britannica, the inevitable outcome of a centralised administration which controls the whole country from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. What is not generally known and recognised, however, is that the idea of this fundamental unity is much older than British rule, that it is not a recent growth or discovery but has a history running back to a remote antiquity. There are many proofs to show that the great founders

of Indian religion, culture and civilisation were themselves fully conscious of the geographical unity of their vast mother country and sought in various ways to impress it on the popular consciousness.

The first expression they appear to have given to this sense of unity was their description of the entire country by the single name of Bhāratavarṣa,¹ which is the old indigenous classic name by which India was known to the Hindus. For the name India was given to the country by foreigners. The river Sindhu by which the country was first known to

¹ India was originally called Jassabadaipa. This name was in use even in the time of Asoka who, in Buddhist works, is often styled as the king of Jambudaipa. Some of the Pila kings also style themselves as Kings of Jambudaipa in their inscriptions. While the name Jambudaipa in their inscriptions. While the name Bhintswarsa has a pecupalical reference conveying the idea that the whole of India was governed by a single king (see the Purkipas for the etymological significance of the word). Though Jambudyipa and Bhirstarsars were no 'doubt names applied to the region conquered or colonised by the Azyana, yet subsequent additions by conquest were also known by those general names, as accretions to the main land are known by the name of the latter.

outsiders was changed into Hindu by the Persians, and Indos by the Greeks, dropping the hard aspirate. The name Bhāratavarsa is not a mere geographical expression like the term India, having only a physical reference. It has a deep, historical significance symbolising a fundamental unity which was certainly perceived and understood by those who invented the name. It is a well-known doctrine of logic that when a common name is applied to different things, it is because of some principle of unity which connects them to a system in spite of the differences. It was hence a consciousness of unity that really made the Risis of old to apply a single, individualising, appellation to a vast stretch of territory with parts divided by endless varieties and peopled by many races speaking many dialects, professing many faiths, owning many cultures. Bhāratavarsa is derived from Bharata as Rome is derived from Romulus. Bharata is a great hero

of Indian history and tradition, just as Romulus is of Roman. The Rig-Veda 1 first mentions him as the leader of a powerful Arvan tribe that played its full part in the original struggles and conflicts by which Arvan polity and culture were being shaped into proper form in the dawn of Indian history. The Aitarena Brāhmana 2 refers to his coronation ceremony and subsequent career of conquests leading to his overlordship which is duly solemnised by the performance of the usual Aswamedha sacrifice. This story is also followed up by the Śrīmad-Bhāgavata, which applies to him the epithets Adhirāt and Samrāt, i.e., king of kings, and describes his subjugation of a number of races, tribes and kingdoms such as the Kirātas, the Hūnas, the Yavanas, the

¹ III. 33.

Panjika VIII.: ''रलेम क्या वेन्द्रेन सङ्गाभिवेक्षेत्र द्यीधेतमा सावतेय: दोक्यांनां भरतं क्यिपियेच्। तक्षात् क्रदीयांनाः सरतः समतं स्थातः प्रथिवीं क्यम् प्रीया-याचेक्ष्यमध्येपरीके इत्यादि।"

Paundras and the like, and his ultimate renunciation of the world as an unreality in essence. Bharata, therefore, stood before the multitudinous peoples inhabiting the country that was called after him as the embodiment, the representative, of the dominant Arvan power which was fast accomplishing its work of colonising the whole country and bringing its different parts under the unifying discipline of a common culture and civilisation. Bhāratavarsa is therefore another name for Arvanised India, the congenial fertile soil where Arvan culture planted itself and attained its fruition, the chosen abode which the pioneers of human civilisation adopted as the scene of their labours for the proper expression of their particular genius. And Bharata was held up as a convenient symbol, a comprehensible token of this early renaissance, of the conquest of a new thought and a new faith finding expression through their appropriate literature, disciplines and

institutions, social, economic and political, of the accomplishment of a new cultural unity imposed upon and pervading a rich, manifold variety, round which were gathered, as in a system of federation, different creeds, cults and cultures with liberty to each to preserve its own special features and genius and contribute its own quota to enrich the central culture.\(^1\)

1 As pointed out by Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M.A., in his suggestive brochure on the Pedagogu of the Hindus. this synthetic and complex Indian culture was the result of the Indian system of education which adapted itself to national requirements in all ages, and he argues: "How otherwise can we account for the rise of the numerous Puranas, Sanhitas, and Tantras adapted to the needs of the people in different ages and provinces? . . . It was because of their mastery over the principles of Psychology and Sociology that the leaders of the community never neglected the superstitions, the mechanical rites and ceremonies, the diverse practices and usages and various religious customs and mythological notions obtaining in the country, but rather promoted the growth and development of a varied eschatology, a varied mythology and a varied religious system according to the varied geographical and historical condition of the people."

The idea of § V. is very well developed in Mr. B. C. Pal's The Soul of India.

VI

But besides this proof of a common name, there are other proofs to show that the fact of this fundamental unity of India was fully grasped by the popular mind in ancient times. Even such an old book as the Rig-Veda, one of the oldest literary records of humanity, reveals conscious and fervent attempts made by the Risis, those profoundly wise organisers of Hindu polity and culture, to visualise the unity of their mother country, nay, to transfigure the mother earth into a living deity and enshrine her in the loving heart of the worshipper. This is best illustrated by the famous river-hymn of the Ria-Veda where the various rivers of the Puniab, the perennial streams of plenty and good to which the country owes so much, which were at once the highways of commerce and culture alike, are deified by a grateful imagination and receive the

nation's worship and homage. As the mind of the devotee contemplates in love and reverence those formative, beneficent agencies of nature contributing from time eternal to the making of his country, it naturally traverses the entire area of his native land and grasps an image of the whole as a visible unit and form. Certainly a better and simpler, a more convenient and significant formula could not be invented for the perception of the fatherland as one indivisible unit than the following prayer of the sloka in the aforesaid hymn:—

द्सं भे महे यसुने सरस्रति शुतुद्रि खोगं सचता परण्या। खिल्ला सरुद्वे वितस्रयाणीं गीरे

ग्रुगच्या सुपोसया॥¹

[O ye Gangā, Yamunā, Sarasvati, Satadru, and Parushi, receive ye my prayers! O ye Marutbridhā, joined by the Asikni, Vitastā, and Ārjikiyā joinel by the Susomā, hear ye my prayers!]

¹ Sutudri - the Sutlej; Parusrie - the Ravi; Asilati - the Chemb; Marudbridha - the combined course of the Akosines and Hydaspes (Roth); Vituata - Gr. Hydaspes - Jheelum; Arjikiya - the Vipas (according to Yāska) - the Bias; Susomā - the Indus (Yāska). See Map.

It calls up at once in the mind's eye a picture of the whole of Vedic India, and fulfils in a remarkable way the poet's purpose behind it of awakening the people's consciousness to the fundamental unity of their country. Nay, it does more: it elevates and refines patriotism itself into religion. To think of the mother country, to adore her as the visible giver of all good, becomes a religious duty; the fatherland is allotted its rightful place in the nation's daily prayers. The riverhymn of the Rig-Veda therefore presents the first national conception of Indian unity, such as it was. It was necessarily conditioned by the geographical horizon

शतहुच विपाश च हतीयेरावती तथा। चन्द्रभाग वितसा च सिन्धुः पष्ठा विस्तिरेः॥

¹ The epithet Sapta-sindhu, the land of seven rivers, is applied to the whole of Vedic India in Rig. VIII., 24, 27, and is thus another expression of its geographical unity.

The *Epic* counterpart of the Vedic description of the Punjab is the following couplet of the *Mahābhārata*, Karna-parva, chapter 44:—

attained in that age which seems to have been confined by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus or the sea in the south, and the valley of the Jumna and the Ganges in the east. These limits practically include the whole of Northern India, the geographical unity of which was also recognised and suitably expressed in the designation of the entire territory by the common name of Aryāvarta in Vedic literature. Manu defines Aryāvarta as follows:—

चाससुद्रानु वे पूर्व्वादाससुद्रानु पश्चिमात्। तथोरेवान्तरं सिर्व्वोरार्व्यायर्ने विदुर्वुधाः श—II. 21.

Medhātithi has the following commentary on the above: "पष्टेनशोद्धिवरिद्वन्यत्र्यश्रीर्य-दम्मरं सर्थ ष: वार्यावर्गो देशो वर्षे: फिटेन्स्यते।"

This explanation is quite in accord with that given by Amarakosa, viz.:—

''चार्व्यावर्तः पुष्पभूमिः मध्यं निन्धास्त्रिमास्त्रयोः।"

So that Aryavarta corresponds to the

24 THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY territory between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas.¹

VII

With the gradual extension of Aryan colonisation of India beyond the limits of the old Aryavarta so as to embrace the whole of Dakshināpatha or Southern India, the old Vedic formula for the conception of Indian unity was supplemented by other appropriate formulae to give fitting expression to an expanding geographical consciousness. Thus the following Pauranic prayer is but an adaptation of the aforesaid river-hymn of the Rig-Veda to a new environment, to an expanded geographical horizon which embraced the whole of India within its limits:—

¹ The Vasistha Dharma Shtre [1, 9], in accord with Manaco Dharma Shtra, also delines Aryiavata as the region between the Vindhya and the Himalaya, and these two ranges also seem to be the boundaries of the Aryan who would in the Kangidaki Upuniada [11, 13]. The Bala-rümüpuna of the poed kajasekhara speaks of the viver Narmadia at the dividing line of Aryibaveth and Daksinipahla."

मङ्गे च यसुने चैंय मोदायरि सरखति। मर्मादे सिम्मकावेरि कास्त्रीमान् समिधि क्रव ॥ 1

[O ye Ganga, Yamuna, Godavari, Sarasvati, Narmada, Sindhu and Cauvery, come ye and enter into this water of my offering!]

This holy text for the sacrificial purification of water is daily repeated by millions of devout Hindus all over the continent during their baths and worships and cannot fail to lift them for the time being above the narrow cares, anxieties, and interests of domestic life to a higher, wider plane of thought, on which they feel something of the great "touch of nature which makes the whole world kin "and realise the vital, fundamental unity or kinship which binds them to a common fatherland, as members of the same nationfamily. The same ennobling, elevating effect is produced on the national consciousness by the following popular

¹ We may compare in this connexion the mention of the Sapta-Gaingā or the seven Gaingüs in Siva-purāņa [II. xiii.], viz., Gaingā, Godāvarī, Kāverī, Tāmraparnī, Sindhu, Sarayu and Revā.

Pauranic couplet, in which the whole of India is represented as the land of seven mountains, those chosen seats of contemplation and peace:—

सचेन्द्रो सख्यः सञ्चः ग्राहिससमृचपर्व्यतः। विन्धाय पारियाययः सप्तेते कुलपर्वाताः॥

Equally efficacious is the following text in enfranchising the mind from the limitations of a narrow, provincial, parochial outlook and opening it to a vision of the whole country of which all parts are equally sacred and entitled to homage:—

अयोध्या सथुरा साथा काशी काशी व्यवन्तिका। पुरी द्वारावती चैय सप्तिता सीचदायिकाः॥ ³

In also course in the Mahabhireta, Bhismanawan, ch. o. Mahandra = the Mahabatin Mali hills in Ganjam and the Eastern Ghata where Pensismina retirved after his defeat by Rima; Malaya = the southern part of the Western Ghats; Stabya = the northern part of the Western Ghats; Richae = the castern part of the Western Ghats; Richae = the castern part of the Vindayas, the nomination of Gontwan; Paripatra or Pari-quitre = the western part of the Vindayas, the contains of Gontwan; Paripatra or Pari-quitre = the western part of the Vindayas, including the Arawalia. See Map.

³ The seven sacred places named are: Ayodhyii, Mashurii, Milyii or Hardwar, Kiisi or Benares, Kiihehi or Conjeweram, Avanti or Ujjani, and Dväräwati or Dwarka in Gregorit.

Here India is represented as the land of seven principal sacred places which it is incumbent on every devotee to visit. and which cover between them practically the entire area of the country. It is also to be noted that the four most meritorious pilgrimages in India were placed by Sankarāchārva in the four extreme points of the country, so that the entire country may be known by the people and the whole area held sacred.1 Sankarāchārva also established four maths or monasteries in the four corners of India, viz., Jvotirmath in the north, Săradā-math in the west. Sringeri-math in the south, and Govardhana-math in the east. These were, as it were, the pillars of Sankara's religious victory (दिविकाय), the capitals of his spiritual empire exercising its sway over the whole of India. The four traditional tirthas are similarly Svetagangā

¹ These sacred places are Badari-Kedarnath in the north, Rāmesvara in the south, Dvārakā in the west and Jagannath in the cast.

in the east, Dhanustirtha in the south. Gomatikunda in the west and Taptakunda in the north. There are similarly four traditional tanks (मरोबर), viz., Pampā, Vindu, Nārāvana and Mānasa in the south, east, west and north respectively. There are, lastly, four popularly known Ksetras, e.g., Mukti, Varāha, Harihara and Kuru. There are again recognised three principal temples for the worship of the sun in the east, north and west, viz., Konaraka (in Orissa), Multan [Brahmanurāna, I. 140, etc.], and Survapura or Surat [J.A.S.B., I. 387]. There are also similarly distinguished eight Vināvaka (Ganeśa) tirthas, viz., Moresvara, Ballāla, Lenādri, Siddhatek, Ojhar, Sthevara or Meura, Rānjanagrāma and Mahada.

The following passage, dear to every devout Hindu, enumerates the various places of Śaiva worship scattered throughout the whole of India:—

चोराष्ट्रे चीसनाथच त्रीशींचे मधिकार्जुनं। जन्मियां सहाकांचे चौकारममरेखरे॥ भेदारं चिमनत्ष्ष्ठे वाकियां भीतमञ्जरत्। नाराचस्त्राच निषेशं स्थमकं शीतमीतवे ॥ वेदानाथं चिताभूती नागेशं हारखावने । चित्रुपत्रे च रावेशं धुक्केशच जिवालये ॥ स्तानि व्योतिश्विंशानि चार्यं शातः पवेदारः । सत्राज्यस्ततं पारं सारचेन चिक्तशति ॥ 1

A similar passage enumerates the principal sacred places consecrated to Visnu which are daily repeated by millions of Hindus all over India.²

¹ The places may be thus identified: Sauraștra = Gujrat; Śri-śaila = the Palni hills in Madura; Ujjain; Amarcevara neur Mandalesvara and ancient Mahismati; the Himalayas (Kedăranath); Dâkinī (unknown); Banares; Gunti or Godavari; Chitābhāmā: Baidyanath; Satubandha or Rāmesvara; Studlaya (unknown).

वारावर्षं यद्वांखि निमन्ने परिमयम्। शास्त्रायां प्रतिचेत्रं यथाआपां रच्यमम्। धसुरावं वास्त्रक्षणं गायायां मधुद्धदनम्। साम्राद्धां योगम्यनम्यन्यामन्यानित्त ॥ ॥ द्वारपत्यां यादनेन्द्रं त्रके गोपीकन्यम्। एक्टानने नन्दछनुं गोनिन्दं कास्त्रियम्। रोधन्यपर्वने गोपवेषं भक्षणं भक्षत्रस्त्वम्। राधन्यपर्वने ग्रीरिं परिद्वारे जनस्तिम्॥ ०॥ प्रधाने माध्येषेन न्यारात्तु महास्त्म।

And in the story of Sati, the perfect wife, who can miss the significance of the fifty-two places in which fragments of the smitten body fell? "And one finger fell in Calcutta, and that is still the Kälighät. And the tongue fell at Kangra (Jwälämukhi) in the North Panjab and appears

> गङ्गासागरमे विकां चित्रक्रटेत राधवस ॥ ८॥ नन्दियासे राच्चमञ्ज प्रभागे विश्वकृषिकास । वीक्रमें क्रममचलं नी लाडी प्रयोगसम् ॥ ८॥ सिंचाचले सदासिंचं गदिनं तलसीयने । वतश्रीले पापचरं योताडी सिंच क्षिणल ॥ १०॥ थोगानन्दं धर्भपथी काक्सेलाध्यकायकस । असीवले गावडाडी सिरणासरसर्वस ॥ ११॥ विद्वलं पांडरंगेत् वेळ्टाद्री रसामख्या । नारायणं यादवादी नसिंदं घटिकाचने ॥ १९॥ वरदं वारणगिरी का सर्था कमला ली चनम । थथोक्तकारियां चीव परसेशपुरायधन ॥ १३॥ पाण्डवानां तथा दुतं विविक्रसमधो सत्तम । कासासिक्यां नसिंचंच तथाएसजसंज्ञकस ॥ १४ ॥ सेघाकारं ग्रामाकारं सेपाकारंत सीमनम । श्रमरा भितिकष्ठस्य कामकोष्यां ग्रामप्रदम् ॥ १५ ॥ का लागेषं खगाक्यं को टिख्यंसमप्रमम्।

to this day, as licking tongues of fire, from underneath the ground. And the left hand fell at Benares which is for ever Annapūrnā, the Giver-of-Bread." All the above passages, with their remarkable hold

¹ The Devi-gitā (eighth chapter) enumerates the various places throughout India sacred to the Devi or Durgs.

> दियंदीपप्रकाणंच देवानासधिपंसने ॥ १९॥ प्रवालवर्षे दीपाभं का खया सष्टा इशस्त्रितम्। श्रीज्ञासरससीरे भागे विकासराध्यस ॥ १०॥ यीचारणे सदापुणे ग्रयानं वीरराधवस । सोतादी तुक्तभवनं गजार्तिष्ठं गजस्वने ॥ १८॥ सचाविक्वंयिक्युरे भिक्तिमारे जागयतिस । महावराउं श्रीमणो सचीन्द्रे पद्मलोचमस ॥१८॥ वोरकेत जगन्नाथं वीधाने जानकी शियस। सारचेत्रे सारमाध खष्मने चरचापदम ॥ २०॥ थीनियासखाने पूर्ण सुवर्णसर्वमन्दिरे। यात्रप्रधी मञ्चायियं भित्तिस्त्रानेतुभित्तिदम्॥ ११॥ चेतन्द्रदे शान्तभृतिंगग्रिपुर्थी सुरिष्यम्। भर्भाखं भर्भवस्थाने विकुष्ठाखेतु साधवन् ॥ २२॥ पुरुषोत्तमे भक्तमसं चलातीर्थे सुदर्शनमः। कुभकोणे चन्नपाणिं भृतस्थाने तु प्राक्तिंणम्॥ २३॥ कपिसाने गजातिं हां गोविन्दं चिवक्रटके।

on the heart of the people as texts of their daily prayers, give expression to a feeling for the fatherland, an absorbing passion for place which is hardly surpassed anywhere in the world, while a negative proof of the same emotion shows itself in the fact that all the holy and sacred places of the Indian lie within the limits

चनुतमं चीचमायां चेताती पद्मखीचनेन्। १०॥ पार्थक्रके परप्रद्म वा नन्दुवी मस्त्रक्ष क्रमकायां मसुदियम् । नन्दुवी मस्त्रक्ष क्रमकायां मर्द्रक्ष । स्व व्यक्तं प्रमायम् ॥ १९॥ चन्दुवी मस्त्रक्ष क्ष्मस्य मान्द्रभ् ॥ १९॥ चन्द्रक्ष क्ष्मस्य मस्त्र । १९॥ चन्द्रक्ष मस्त्रक्ष अप्रत्य भवत् । १९॥ विश्वचे विश्वचित्रकारं आनुष्य क्ष्मद्रम् ॥ १०॥ मीकरे कालनेश्व समुदायां क्ष्मस्य क्ष्मद्रम् ॥ १०॥ मीकरे कालनेश्व समुदायां क्षम्यस्य १८॥ विश्वचे विश्वचे अप्रत्य क्षम् वाच्यक्षस्य सम्प्रत्य विश्वचे अप्रत्य वाच्यक्षस्य सम्प्रत्य । १९॥ चन्द्रक्षस्य मान्द्रक्षस्य विश्वचे अप्रत्य क्षमस्य विश्वचे अप्रत्य क्षमस्य विश्वचे अप्रत्य क्षमस्य विश्वचे ॥ १९॥ चन्द्रक्षस्य अप्रत्य क्षमस्य क्षमस्य ॥ १॥ ॥ चन्द्रक्षस्य विश्वचे व्यवचे व्

of India and not one of them in some far off Palestine.

VIII

This intense passion for fatherland, indeed, utters itself throughout Sanskrit literature. We select some of these references at random. The Atharva Veda, for instance, sings the praises of the mother country as the land of the brave and the pious, of heroism and enterprise, of commerce and trade, of science and art, of virtue and greatness, of countless medicinal herbs and plants; the land, girt by the sea and fertilised by the sacred rivers like the Indus, and rich in grain and foodstuffs; the land where our forefathers lived and worked, where the Asuras succumbed to the might of the

[&]quot; Av. XII, 2—" नानावीर्था खोपधीर्था विभक्ति . . ."

[ं] Av. XII. 8—"बर्खासबुद जन सिन्धुरापी यस्थासबं ब्रह्मः सम्बभूतुः।"

Devas; the land which boasts of the highest mountain and the most beautiful forest; the land of sacrificial rites and sacred pleasures, of valour and renown, of patriotism and self-sacrifice, of virtue and kindness. There are passages also in other Sanskrit works which refer to India as the chosen land, a veritable

¹ Av. XII. 5— "वस्तां पूर्व्वे पूर्व्ववना विचित्रिरे यस्तां देवा चसुरानस्थवर्तथन्।"

² Av. XII. 11—" किर्यक्ते पर्वता दिसयन्तोऽरणां ते प्रथितिस्रोतसङ्ख्या

³ Av. XII. 1. 22—"भूष्यां देवेस्सो ददति यद्यं दयसरं-कतम्।"

Av. XII. 1. 41-

" यस्त्रां माथिन मृत्यिन भूम्यां बर्त्तायेखवाः । युद्धाने यस्त्राक्षात्रन्दो यस्त्रां वदति दुन्दुभिः ॥"

4 Manu, II. 17—''तं देवनिर्धात देशंत्रह्मायती प्रचत्ते।" Visnu Purāna, II. iii. 24:—

> गायन्ति देवाः किल गीतकानि धन्यासु ते भारतमूक्तिगते। सर्कापवर्गास्यदमार्गमूते भवन्ति भयः पुरुषाः सुरत्वात॥

heaven on earth, culminating in the great national utterance

" जननी जनाभृतिच खर्गाद्पि गरीयसी"

('mother and motherland are higher than heaven itself').

IX

The same feeling for the fatherland has again spread over the whole continent a

[Thus do the gods sing the glories of Bhāratavarsa:
"More fortunate than we are they who are born in that
land wherein lies the veritable road to heaven and
salvation."]

Śrimadbhāgavata, v. xix. 20, 27.

थको वर्तपा किमकारि शोभनम् प्रमन्न एपा सिङ्ग सर्वेषरिः । वैर्जन्म स्वयं नृषुभारतास्तिरे सुकुन्दभेगोपविद्यं स्मृकास्ति नः॥ १०॥

े प्रयाज ना समेत्रुखावसेषितं तिष्ठस्य स्क्रान्य क्षेत्रस्य स्थानम् । तेनाजनामे स्कृतिसञ्जयः ना स्थाद्-वर्षे चरियद् भजतां सं तनोति ॥ २६॥

network of shrines and sacred places which constitutes one of the distinguishing and differentiating features of India. (For it) goes without saving that the institution of pilgrimage is entirely an expression of love for the motherland, one of the modes of worship of the country which strengthens the religious sentiment and expands the geographical consciousness. Behind the religious merit and sanctity of pilgrimage there lies the admiration of place, of art, even of geographical significance. Benares in the North and Conjeeveram in the South are loved and visited because they are cathedral cities, rich in architecture, in treasure and in the associations of saints and scholars. We also feel that Jagannath owes its position in no small degree to the sheer beauty of the sea and also perhaps to the cosmopolitanism of the place as the port through which long flowed the eastern trade. Allahabad, the Tirtharāja Pravāga, the prince of holy places,

inevitably rose at the confluence of two mighty rivers mingling their waters. The perennial beauty of the Himalayas has captivated the national imagination and has made them the refuge of holy men. drawing unending streams of pilgrims. Indeed, the Hindu's pilgrimages are always to the glacier-clad mountain, the palm-clad sea-shore or ocean-isle, or the almost impenetrable depths of hill and jungle, where the tread of the generations of Man has scarcely been heard, and Nature left free to exercise her healing and healthful influence. Thus the Indian treats the beauty of place in a peculiar way, foreign to the West: his method of appreciating and celebrating it is quite different. A spot of beauty is no place for social enjoyment or self-indulgence; it is the place for self-restraint, for solitary meditation which leads the mind from nature up to Nature's God. Had Nia gara been situated on the Ganges, how different would have been its valuation

by humanity! Instead of occasional picnics and railway pleasure-trips, the perennial pilgrimage of worshipping erowds. Instead of parks, asramas. Instead of hotels, temples. Instead of ostentatious excess, simple austerity. Instead of the desire to harness its mighty forces to the chariot of human utility, an absorbing subjectivity, a complete detachment from the body and the outward world to feed the life of the spirit! Thus the institution of pilgrimage is undeniably a most powerful instrument for developing the geographical sense in the people which enables them to think and feel that India is not a mere congeries of geographical fragments, but a single, though immense, organism, filled with the tide of one strong pulsating life from end to end. The visit to holv places as an imperative religious duty has made wide travelling a national habit

¹ Cf. Sister Nivedita's "The Web of Indian Life," p. 241,

in India in all ages of life, with young and old alike, and travelling in ages preceding the era of steam and mechanical transport could not but promote a deep knowledge of the tracts traversed which is easily escaped by modern globe-trotters. It was this supremely Indian institution in fact which served in the past in place of the modern railway and facilities for travel to promote popular movements from place to place and intercommunication between parts producing a perception of the whole. It allowed no parochial, provincial sense to grow up which might interfere with the growth of the idea of the geographical unity of the mighty motherland; allowed no sense of physical comforts to stand in the way of the sacred duty of intimately knowing one's mother country; and softened the severities of old-world travelling by breaking the pilgrim's route by a holy halting place at short intervals.

It is difficult indeed to count up the

innumerable sacred spots which an overflowing religious feeling has planted throughout India. One of the best lists ¹ of these is to be found in the Vanaparva

¹ The Gavada-purāna preserves some anthentic lists of the Hindu holy places all over India. The following passage in the sixty-sixth chapter distinguishes the principal sacred places thus:—

> शासपानोद्वारकाच नेनियं प्रकारं गया। यारावाची प्रयागण कुष्येचाच प्रकारं ॥ गङ्गाच नर्मादा गोदा चन्द्रभाग सरस्वती। शोचेचा सपानासस्वीर्थागेनानि शङ्कर ॥ सर्वे पायवराजेन शक्तिसम्निप्रदानियं।

But perhaps the best and a most exhaustive enumeration of holy places occurs in the eighty-first chapter, which passes in review the whole continent from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin in the following couplets:—

सर्वतीर्थान वद्याप्ति महातीर्थोगसाभ्या । स्वरेष एक्समम्मा विषु खानेषु दुखेमा ॥ चरिद्वारे स्थापेच महापामरपङ्गे ॥ प्रथाने पर्या नीर्थ नृवामां पृष्ठिमुख्यदम् ॥ धेवनात् कतपिष्णानां पाप्तिम् कान्यं नृवाम् । वारावणी परं नीर्थ विषयो वपसेम्माः ॥ कृष्येच परं नीर्थ दानायभूतिक्युख्यस् । प्रमाणं परसं नीर्थ चीनमायोपि वपच ॥ हारकाच प्ररी रथा मृत्तिस्तिकदायिका । of the Mahābhārata where two descriptions are given of the principal holy places, one by Nārada and the other by Dhaumya. Other such lists are to

प्राची सरस्ती प्रणा सप्तसारस्तां परं। केदारं सर्वधापचं क्यालयाम उत्तसल्। नरनारायणं तीर्थं मुझ्ये वद्रिकात्रसम् ॥ यते द्वीपंपरी साधा नैसिवंपळारं परस खबोध्या चार्यतीर्थन् चित्रक्रटच गोसतीस् ॥ वैनायवं शहानीर्थं रामगिर्धात्रसं परमः। का खोपुरी तुलभड़ा त्रोक्षेत्रं चेतुवन्थवस । रासे चरंपरंती र्थकार्ति वेथं तथो चसस। भगतुक्षं कासतीर्थं चासरकष्टकंतथा। जज्जियां महाकालः कुलके वीघरोद्दरिः। कवासकं स्टातीर्थं कालमर्पित कास्टस । भवाकेशीच कावेरी चन्द्रभागा विपाशका। एकावसम्बातीर्थं ब्रह्मेशं देवकोटकम् ॥ सथुराच पुरी रस्था झोखयैव सञ्चानदः। जन्मसो सदातीर्थं तानि तीर्थानि विदिच । सूर्यः शिवो गणो देवी चरिर्यंवच तिष्ठति । रतेषुचतथास्येषु स्नानदानं जपसपः॥ पूजात्राई पिष्डदानं सर्वभवतिचाचयम । भाजभासं सर्वदं स्थात् तीर्थं पद्मपतेः परम्।

be found in the various accounts of what are known as the Pīṭha-sthānas. The popularly known number, 52, is given by Tantra Chudāmani. According to Devī-

> कोबामखन्न बाराएं भाष्ठीरं खामिणं जनत । सोस्टब्छेमसाविष्णर्मन्दारे सधस्रदनः ॥ कासक्षं सचातीर्थं कासाख्या यत्र तिष्टति । पुण्डवर्द्धनकं तीधी कार्तिकेयस यमच ॥ विरुवान सहातीर्थतीर्थवीपुरुपोत्तसम् । सधेन्द्रपर्वतस्त्रीर्धं कावेरीच नदीपरा। गोदायरी संचातीर्थं पद्योवशी वरदा संघा। विकाः पापचरं तीर्थं नर्यादाभेट जन्मः। गोक के परमंती भी भी भी साहियाती परी। काल्यरं मचातार्थं ग्रुक्रतीर्थमन्त्रमम् ॥ क्षतणीचं सित्तद्व भक्ते घारीच दणके। विर्वं सर्वदं तीर्थं खर्णाचं तीर्धन्त्रसम्। निस्तीर्थं मित्रदश्व कोटितीर्थप लप्रदस्। नामिक्यच सत्तातीर्थं गोवर्धनसतः परस ॥ क्षमध्येणी भीमरेखा गण्डकी यालिरावती तीर्थं विन्दर्गरः पुर्णं विष्यपादीदकं परस । श्रीरक्ष चरे सीर्थं नापोश्रेष्ठा महागदी। सप्तगोदावरं ती थे ती थे को पागिरिः परस् ॥ मसास्थीर्थं देवी प्रशीका परक्षा भदी।

Bhāgavata, the number is 108 [7–30]. The Kuhjikātantra also enumerates the various Siddhapithas throughout India. The Siva-Charita distinguishes the Mahāpīṭhas numbering 51 from the minor Upa-pīṭhas numbering 26. A reference to these holy places is also contained in the Kālika-purāna (chh. 18, 50, 61).

X

Along with this system and network of Hindu holy places should also be considered the multitude of monuments with which Buddhism and Jainism—ultimately and essentially but phases of Hindu thought—have adorned the land and influenced the geographical consciousness of large numbers of people

सञ्चादी देवदेवेग एकवीरः सुरेवरी । गजादारे कुंगावर्ते विश्वके भीलपर्वते । खाला जनसले तीर्थे स भवेत्र पुनर्भवे ॥

under their direct sway. "Historically, both Buddhism and Jainism may be regarded as offshoots or sects of Hinduism."1 Buddhism in fact is the name given to Hinduism of the first few centuries of the Christian era when precipitated in a foreign consciousness. Its special and most noteworthy contribution was a vast imperial organisation. highly centralised, coherent in all its parts, full of the geographical consciousness, uttering itself in similar architectural forms in the east and west of India. passionately eager to unify and elevate the people and to adorn the land. India became a self-contained, self-conscious unit, in full and living communication both by land and sea with China and Japan, Syria and Egypt, sending abroad ambassadors, merchants and missionaries with messages, commodities and ideas.

What the idea of pilgrimage is to the

¹ See V. A. Smith's "A History of Fine Art in India," etc., introduction.

Hindu mind, the worship of relics is to the Buddhist. The former realised itself in the planting of holy places, the latter in the erection of monuments beautifying the land. The Buddhist veneration of relies led to the construction of multitudes of domed cupolas (stupas, dagobās) for the safe custody of the relies, surrounded with accessory structures upon which were lavished all the resources of art: while the necessities of monastic life led to the erection of vihāras and chaityas, monasteries and churches, both rock-cut and structural. The Pillars (lats) at Delhi, Tirhut, Sankisa, Sanchi, etc.; the chaitya-caves and viharas at Bihar, Nasik, Ajanta, Elura, Karle, Kanheri, Bhaja, Bedsa, Dhamnar, Udaigiri, Bagh, etc.; stupas of Manikyala, Sarnath, Sanchi and Amaravati: the gateways and stone railings at Barahat (Bharhut), Mathura, Gaya, Sanchi and Amaravati; and lastly, the numerous Gandhara monasteries - all these, con-

sidering their widely-separated locations, point to the extensive area which was unified by a common artistic impulse, a single religious idea.

XI

We have now seen how the idea of the essential unity of the Indian world underlying its truly continental vastness and variety has seized the national consciousness and become one of its natural, integral contents. It is also clear that this particular consciousness could not be a sudden growth but required time for its development. Its evolution must naturally correspond at every stage to the evolution of geographical knowledge in the Indian mind. The perception of India as a single country must wait on an intimate geographical knowledge of the whole of India previously obtained.

It is therefore necessary to trace the development of this geographical knowledge and mark out its successive stages.

XII

It goes without saying that in the Vedic age the geographical horizon embraced only a part of India. The extent and limits of Vedic India may be inferred from the river-hymn and other geographical data in the Rig-Veda. Mention is made therein of some twenty-five streams, all but two or three of which belong to the Indus river system. The word Santa-Sindhavah is once used to indicate Arvan India, the land of seven rivers, which are generally understood to mean the five rivers of the Punjab, together with the Indus and the Kabul, for which the Sarasvati was afterwards substituted. The easterly limit of the

Aryan home is indicated by the reference in one or two places to the rivers Jamunā and Ganges. Thus the widest geographical extent of Vedic India was the country bounded "by the snowy mountains in the north, the Indus and the range of the Suleiman mountains in the west, the Indus and the sea in the south, and the valley of the Yamuna and the Ganges in the east." The country beyond the Vindhya range and the Narmada river, which are not mentioned in the Rig-Veda, was not known to the Veda east.

Later Vedic literature does not show any knowledge of Southern India. The passage in the Aitareya Brālmana [vii. 18], in which Visvāmitra refers to the Andhras, Pundras, Sabaras, Pulindas and Mutibas as living on the borders of the Aryan settlements, only demonstrates that the Aryas were at that time acquainted with the whole country to the north of the

¹ Max Muller in India; what can it leach us? pp. 168, 174.

Vindhya and a portion to the south-east of that range.

XIII

The examination of the available evidence shows that the colonisation of Southern India did not accomplish itself till the seventh century n.c. Pāṇṇi, who "must have flourished in the beginning of the seventh century before the Christian era, if not earlier still," mentions many places and rivers which mostly belong to the Paṇṇab and Afghaṇistan. The most southerly places mentioned by him are Kachchha [IV. 2, 133], Avanti [IV. 1, 176], Kosala [IV. 1, 171], Karusa ² [IV. 1, 178], and Kalinga [IV. 1, 178].

The contemporary Pali literature points to the same conclusion. In one of the oldest Pali texts [the Sutta-Nipāta, 976) occurs the expression Dakkhinā-

¹ Sir R. G. Bhandarkar in his Early History of the Deccan.

² Eastern portion of Shahabad district in Behar.

natha.1 which does not mean the whole of modern Dekkan, but only a remote settlement on the upper Godävari. The expression does not occur in any one of the four Nikāyas. It occurs again in the later text [Vin. 1, 195, 196; 2, 298], but only to mean the same district near the Godāvari and in conjunction with Avanti. The Nikāyas refer to sea-voyages out of sight of land [see my History of Indian Shipping, Part I., ch. III.] and to Kalinga and Dantapura near the coast, while the Vinava to Bharukaccha [3, 38] and the Udāna to Supparaka [1, 10]. The approximate geographical extent of the most ancient Buddhism (i.e., about the time of Buddha) is stated inter alia in the Mahāparinibbana Sutta, "where are named the

¹ Dakinhapatha, lit., 'the path or road of the south: the southern road' was the technical expression for Southern India. 'The sandogous expression for Northern India was Utanapatha, lit., 'the path or road of the north, the northern road' which was of constant use, e.g., in connection with Harswardhana of Kanoui, who is called 'चंधरपंत्रज्ञाच्छोत्तरपञ्जाच', चुर्वच्चेन', the waitle loof of all the region of the North.

following chief towns as the dwellingplaces of many nobles, Brahmans and Vaisvas converted to Buddhism, viz., Champā, Rājagaha, Sāvatthi, Sāketa, Kosambī and Maga-Baranasi, comprising between them the kingdoms of Kasi-Kosala and Magadha, together with the territories now known as Oudh and Bihar. The same geographical extent may be inferred from the distribution of Buddha's relics among eight places as mentioned in the Mahaparinibbana Sutta S. B. E., Vol. XI., pp. 129 ff. l, which are: Rajagaha, Vesālī, Kapilavathu, Allakappa, Rāmagama, Vethadīpa, Pāvā, and Kusinārā, besides the shrines erected by Drona the Brahmin and the Morivas of Pippalivana. The extent of the whole of old Buddhist India may be similarly inferred from passages in some Pāli books [e.g., Anguttara, 1. 218; 4. 252, 256, 260; Vinaya Texts, 2. 1461, which enumerates the sixteen principal political divisions of the country as follows: (1) Anga, (2) Ma-

gadhā, (3) Kāsī, (4) Kosalā, (5) Vajji, (6) Mallä, (7) Ceti, (8) Vamsä, Kurū, (10) Pañchālā, (11) Macchā, (12) Sürasenä, (13) Assakä, (14) Avanti, (15) Gandhārā, and (16) Kambojā. Another similar list, indicating a slightly wider geographical extent, is to be found in the Govinda Sutta, 36 [Dīgha-Nikāya, XIX. 367, where the following seven provinces are distributed by the Brahman Govinda among King Renu and six other Ksatriva princes, viz., (1) Kalinga, with its capital Dantapura: (2) Assaka, with its capital Potana; (3) Avanti, with its capital Māhismatī; (4) Sovira, with its capital Roruka; (5) Videha, with its capital Mithilā; (6) Anga, with its capital Champā; (7) Kāsi, with its capital Bārānasi.

The Lalita-Vistara [ch. III.] also mentions the existence of sixteen great States in the different countries of "Jambudvīpa," and also names the following places and dynasties in connection with a discussion of their fitness as the birthplace of the Buddha, viz., (1) the Vaidcha dynasty of Magadha; (2) the Kosala dynasty; (3) the Vańsarāja dynasty, of which the Tibetan name is Vadsa, with its capital Kauśambi; (4) the city state of Vaisali; (5) the Pradyotana dynasty which ruled in Unavini: in the Chinese version it is called Mavanti, apparently a corruption of Avanti; (6) the city of Mathura, where ruled the race of King Kańsa; (7) the city of Hastināpura of the Pandavas: (8) the city of Mithila: (9) the country of the Sakyas with its capital Kapilavāstu, which was finally chosen as the fit birthplace for the Buddha. "He surveyed all the Ksatriya royal dynasties in the continent named Jambu and found all of them tainted except the Sakva race. which was devoid of all defect."

Again, in the tenth chapter of the same work where the Bodhisattva names the 64 kinds of writing there is a reference to the following places and tribes: (1) Anga, (2) Vanga, (3) Magadha, (4) the

country of Śakāri, (5) Brahmavalli, (5) Dravida, (7) Dakṣiṇa, (8) Ugra, (9) Darada, (10) Khūsaya, (11) Chūna, (12) the country of Huna.

All the above references, Sanskrit as well as Pali, show that the geographical horizon of the Indians between the Vedie and early Buddhist periods did not embrace Southern India and Ceylon, the knowledge and colonisation of which belonged to a later period.

XIV

Southern India first floats into the Indian geographical horizon at least as early as the fourth century B.C. If the whole of India was unknown to Pāṇini, it was well-known to his commentator Kātyāyana, whom both popular tradition and modern scholarship assign to the time of the Nandas who preceded the Mauryas. Kātyāyana's reference to the derivatives

Pāndyas, Cholas and Māhismat, supplements in reality both the grammar and geography of Pānini.

There is also Greek evidence to show that the Indians had a very accurate knowledge of the form and extent of India in the time of Alexander's invasion. According to Strabo [Geographia, ii. 1, 6], Alexander "caused the whole country to be described by men well acquainted with it." This account was afterwards lent to Patrokles, the satrap under Seleukus Nikator and Antiochus Soter, and was accepted as true by Eratosthenes and Strabo who on the basis of that account have given certain distances and dimensions about India which approximate to their modern measurements.

We also know from history how wide and deep was the geographical knowledge of the whole of India under the Maurya Emperor. Thus the Arthabāstra of Kautilya, which is generally attributed to Chānakya, the minister of Chandra-

gupta, shows a good knowledge of the economic products of the various parts of India including the south. The traderoutes of India are divided broadly into two classes: 1 (1) the Northern, i.e., those leading to the Himalayas and called Haimavatah; (2) the Southern called Daksinapathah. Of these the former are noted for their access to such commodities as elephants, horses, perfumes, skins, silver and gold, while the latter convey such valuable things as conchshells, diamond, precious stones, pearls and gold, of which the Tamil land is the famous and fertile source. Commercially the latter are therefore held to be more important than the former. Southern India is also recognised to be abounding in mines. Some of the rivers of Southern

^{1 &}quot;इसवतो द्विणापशाच्हेगान् इस्ययमञ्जदमाजिन-इत्यसवर्णपणास्मारवनशा राज्याचार्थाः।

नेति कोटिखः—कम्मसाजिनाश्वपणवर्जाः शङ्घवञ्चमणि-सुक्रास्य वर्षपणास्त्रभृततराः दिचणायथे ।

दिश्यापथेशीय वज्रखनिः..." Bk. VII. ch. 12.

India and of Cevlon are mentioned as sources of pearls, e.g., Tamraparnika, Kula, Chūrna: and also some mountains, e.a., Pändvavätaka, Mahendra. In the extreme north, some Himalayan villages mentioned as the source of skins, e.g., Visī, Mahāvisī, Aroha, Bahlava and also Nepal as sources of blankets. Kāmbhoja (Afghanistan, the Kaofu of Hiuen Tsang), Sindhu (Sindh) and Aratta (Paniah. lit. land of the kingless) are also mentioned as sources of the supply of horses. Among eastern countries are mentioned Vanga, Paundra, Suvarna-Kudyaka (probably Kämarūpa, as suggested by the commentator), Magadha, Kāśī and Kalinga, which were noted even in those early days for their cotton and silk fabrics. Anga, Karūsa, Prāchya and Kalinga are also mentioned as sources of the supply of elephants. Mādura in the south, Aparanta on the west, Mahisa in the Decean are also mentioned for their cotton fabrics. Surāstra is also mentioned

for its supply of elephants and Sauvira for horses. Lastly, some countries outside India are also mentioned with which she had trade across the seas (Pārasamudraka), e.g., Svarṇabhāni noted for its perfumes, China for its silks (Chinapaṭṭāh) and Arabia (Vanāvu) for its horses.¹

The Edicts of Asoka also supply convincing evidence that the whole of India was known in his days. The southern independent kingdoms, such as the Chola, Pandya, Satiyaputra and Keralaputra, are mentioned, together with the Andhras and Pulindas. There are also mentioned the border nations on the north-west, west and the Deccan such as the Yonas, Kambojas, Gandharas, Rashtrikas, Pitenikas (probably connected with Paithan), Nabhatas. The conversion of Ceylon by Mahendra may also be taken to be a historical fact, supported as it is by both northern and southern tradition.

I Thus by the time of the Maurya 1 See Arthasüstra, pp. 50, 75—81. Mysorc Ed.

bee 21 minutes of pp. 50, 15-01. Mysore Ed.

Empire the knowledge of all parts of India was a common possession, a content of the popular geographical consciousness. And we accordingly find the contemporary and subsequent literature replete with geographical details.

XV

Patañjali (150 n.c.) shows considerable advance upon Kātyāyana and has intimate knowledge of the south. Besides mentioning Māhiṣmatī [Mahābhasya on Pān. III. 1, 26], Vaidarbha [IV. 1, 4], Kānchi-pura [IV. 2, 2] and Kerala or Malabar [IV. 1, 175] he notices some lingual usages in the south [I. 1, 19].

It is difficult to ascertain the precise chronological value of the great epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata as we have them now. Popular Hindu belief assigns

ग्री अलि च लोके सरनी श्रृदस्थ प्रश्निः दिचि वापथे दि सहानि सरां सि सरस्य द्रायु चते

to the Rāmāvana 1 an earlier date and is supported by the fact that it shows a much less knowledge of Southern India than the Mahābhārata. Among the places lying to the south are mentioned Utkala, Kalinga, Dasarna [Bhilsa], Avanti and Vidarbha, which do not carry us very far beyond the line of the Vindhyas. Between these and the southernmost countries of the Cholas, Pandvas and Keralas the Rāmāvana mentions no other place but Dandakāranya. This state of geographical knowledge carries us back to the days of later Vedic literature before the 7th century B.C. Sugriva's descriptions, however, of places and peoples in the Kiskindhä Kända [Sargas 40-43] exhibit broadly the conception of India as a whole which is distinguished from parts forming what may be termed Greater India, as also from surrounding countries and nations.

¹ The Arthasastra refers to the story of the Ramayana and Mahabharata thus: " मानात् रायणः परदाराज-प्रयक्षम् दुर्थोधनी राज्यादंशं च।" [Mysore ed., p. 11.]

That a Mahābhārata existed before Pānini is proved by his allusions to Vāsudeva, Ariuna and Yudhisthira. geographical horizon of the Epic as we have it now is indicated in the passage. among others, where Sahadeva is represented to have subdued the Pandyas. Dravidas, Udras, Keralas and Andhras [Sabhāp, ch. 31]. It is also indicated in the passage [Bhismap. ch. 9], which enumerates the seven principal mountains of India and also by the list of some 200 rivers given in the tenth chapter of Bhismaparya, where are mentioned the southerly rivers, Mahanadi, Godāvarī, Krisnā and Kāverī, Narmadā, Krisnavēnī, Vēna, Tunga-Vēna. Bhīsmaparva, chapter IX., mentions 157 peoples belonging to Northern India and 50 peoples belonging to the south of the Narmadā. The Vanaparva, as has been already stated, affords interesting geographical data in the lists of holy places it gives. The holy places in the south

mentioned are the Godavari. Vēna. Pavosnī, the Agastva-tīrtha and the Varuna-tīrtha, the Tāmraparnī Gokarna-tīrtha, the Kavērī and the Kanyā-tīrtha (probably Kanyā Kumāri, Cape Comorin). The itinerary of the Pāndavas is also similarly interesting. It refers to such places as the Vaitaranï in Kalinga, the Mahendra mountain where lived Parasurāma, and the Pandya country whence they reached Surparaka. Besides this intimate knowledge of the parts, the Mahabharata presents a conception of the whole of India as a geographical unit in the famous passage in the Bhīsmaparva where the shape of India is described as an equilateral triangle, divided into four smaller equal triangles, the apex of which is Cape Comorin and the base formed by the line of the Himalaya mountains. As remarked by Cunningham [Ancient Geography of India, p. 5], "the shape corresponds very well with the general form

of the country, if we extend the limits of India to Ghazni on the north-west and fix the other two points of the triangle at Cape Comorin and Sadiya in Assam."

XVI

The geographical knowledge of the Mahābhārata is followed up by all the Purānas, which are well-known for their detailed information regarding the places and peoples of India. They also present the conception of India as a geographical unit in their description of the country as made up of nine divisions, viz., Indra, Kasērumat, Tāmraparna, Gabhastimat, Kumarikā, Nāga, Saumya, Varuna, Gāndharva, which agree with those of the famous astronomer Bhāskarāchārya [Siddhāntaśiromani, ch. III., 41].

Varāhamihira [Vrihat - Sanhitā, ch. XIV.], however, gives a different list of the Nine Divisions which deserves a

more than passing notice for the wealth of topographical details it presents. It may be given as follows:—

I. Central Division: Tribes—Kurus, Pańchālas, Pāndus, Sūrasenas, Vatsas, etc. Towns—Mathurā, Sāketa. Rivers —Yamunā and Sarasvatī.

II. Eastern Division: Tribes—Ambasthas, Kauśalakas, Paundras, Prägjyotisas, Tāmraliptikas and Utkalas. Countries— Kośala, Mithilä, Kāṣī, Magadba, Puṇḍra, Tāmalipti, Samatata, Udra, etc.

HI. South - eastern Division: Tribes — Chedikas, Dasārnas, Nisādas, etc. Countries — Anga (Chedi), Upavanga, Vanga, Kalinga, Andhra, Vidarbha, etc. Mountains—the Vindyas.

IV. South Division: Tribes—Ābhiras, Āvantakas, Cheryas, Kairalakas, etc., mariners (वर्गरचर), etc. Countries—Avanti's beryl-mines (Vaidūrya), Bhāru-kachchha, Chitrakūṭa, places for obtaining conch-shells, Kāūchī, Lankā, southern ocean, places for obtaining pearls, Sinhala,

Talikata, Vellura, Chera, Chola, Kachchha, Karnāṭa, Kerala, Konkana, etc. Forests—Dandakavana. Mountains—Dardura, Kusuma, Mahendra, Malaya, Malindya, Risyamūka, Sūrpa, etc. Rivers—Kavērī, Krisnā, Tāmraparnī and Vēnā.

V. South-west Division: Tribes—Abhiras, Aravas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Mākaras, Pahlavas, Sindhus, Sauviras, Sudras, Yavanas, etc. Countries—Maharnava, Ānarta, Drāvida, Kambhōja, Pārasaya, Surīstra. etc.

VI. Western Division: Tribes—Aparāntakas, Haihayas, Mlechchhas, Śakas, Vaiśyas, etc.

VII. North-west Division: includes Hārahauras, Stri-rājya, and the river Venumatī.

VIII. Northern Division: Tribes— Huṇas, Kaikayas, Udichyas, etc. Towns— Puṣkalāvatī, Takṣaśilā. Countries— Gāndhāra, Uttarakuru. Mountains— Dhanuṣmat, Himavat, Kailāsa, etc. River—Yamunā.

IX. North - east Division : includes Kāśmīra.

XVII

We may conclude the above account of the development of Indian geographical knowledge by a reference to the geography of Kālidāsa. In the conquests of Raghu are mentioned (in the east), the Suhmas, the Vangas, the river Kapiśa, the Utkalas, the Kalingas with the mountain Mahendra; in the south, the river Kāverī and, beyond it, the Pāndyas with their pearls produced at the mouth of the Tamraparni, the mountains Malava and Dardura, and, crossing them, the Keralas; on the west, crossing the Murala river, Aparanta between the Sahva range and the sea, the Parasikas: in the north, the Yavanas, the Hūnas, the Kamboias, the Kiratas and other hilly tribes near the Kailasa mountain; Pragivotisa in the extreme east. In the Meghadūta

the places mentioned on the route of the cloud messenger from Rāmagiri to Alakā are the following: Sātpura hills, Mālava, the Revā (Narmadā), Vindhya range, Dasārṇa, capital Vidiśā, Ujjayini on the Śiprā, river Gandhavatī, Gambhīrā, Devagiri, Charmaṇvatī, Dasāpura, Kurukṣetra, the Sarasvatī, the Kankhala hill near the Ganges, the source of the Ganges, Mount Kailāsa, Mānasa lake and Alakā.

XVIII

We have now seen how the Indians in ancient times before the era of steam and mechanical locomotion possessed a thorough knowledge of the different parts, tribes and races of India welded together into a whole which was so essential to their realisation of the idea of the geographical unity of their vast country. We have also seen that it was not a mere intellectual conception or an abstract

idea but a vivid realisation through the heart; not the happy hit of a momentary inspiration but the settled habit of national thought induced by religious texts and daily prayers.

But along with the influence of religion as explained above, there was also the influence of politics in producing this popular consciousness of Indian geographical unity. History records the names of many Indian rulers who succeeded in realising their ambition of establishing a suzerainty over the whole of India which was accordingly thought. of and used as a unit, as the common field of national activity. Such a ruler in older days was Harsavardhana, who reigned from 606 to 648 A.D. over an empire that embraced the whole of the basin of the Ganges (including Nepal) from the Himālayas to the Narmada, besides Malwa, Gujrat and Surastra, and won for itself recognition as a paramount power in the land. Such a ruler, too. in vet older days was Samudra Gupta in the fourth century, A.D., who carried his victorious arms from the Ganges to the border of the Tamil country and thus achieved the political unification of a large part of India with an alliance extending from the Oxus to Cevlon. Such a ruler again in the past before the Christian era was Asoka the Great, one of the most illustrious in the illustrious roll of Indian Emperors, whose empire extended over the entire territory stretching from Afghanistan to Mysore, being "far more extensive than British India of to-day, including Burma" (V. A. Smith's Asoka, p. 81), and became a self-conscious political power with active international relations. And such a ruler was also Chandragupta, wrongly supposed to be the first historical paramount Sovereign of India, under whom also India realised herself as a political unit as she was already by nature a geographical unit.

XIX

It is a mistake to suppose that Chandragupta was the first to introduce to Indian politics this conception of a single power dominating the whole country, for the idea was certainly much older than Chandragupta and was handed down from remote antiquity. The conception of a Chakravarti Raja or suzerain receiving the tribute and allegiance of subordinate kings has been one of the most familiar political notions of the ancient Hindus. Vedic literature furnishes a crop of terms for a paramount sovereign. These are:—

(1) Adhirāja, which occurs fairly often throughout the early literature to denote overlord among kings or princes. Thus it is found in the Rig-Veda, X. 128, 9; Atharvaveda, VI. 98, 1 and IX. 10, 24; Taitiriya Sahhitā, II. 4, 14, 2; Maitrāyani Sahhitā, IV. 12, 3; Kāthaka Sahhitā, VIII. 17; Taitiriya Brāhmana, III. 1, 2, 9 (adhirājan); Šatapatha Brāhmana, V, 4, 2, 2; Nivukta, VIII. 2.

- (2) Rājādhirāja, King of Kings, which is found in the later Taittiriya Āranyaka, I. 31, 6.
- (3) Samrāi, which is used to mean superior ruler, sovereign, expressing a greater degree of power than king. It occurs in the Rig-Veda, III. 55, 7: 56, 5; IV. 21, 1; VI, 27, 8; VIII, 19, 32; also in the Vājasaneyī Sanhitā, V. 32; XIII. 35; XX, 5, etc.; also in the Satapatha Brāhmana, V. 1, 1, 13 [cf. XII. 8, 3, 4; XIV, 1, 3, 8], where the Samrāj is asserted to have a higher authority and rank than a king, and to have become one by the sacrifice of the Vājapeya. The epithet is also applied to Janaka of Videha in Satapatha Brāhamna, XI. 3, 2, 1, 6; 2, 2, 3; and in Brihadāranyaka Upanisad, IV. 1, 1; 8, 1. It is applied in the

Aitareya Brālmana, VIII. 14, 2, 3, as the title of the Eastern kings, the kings of the Prāchyas (suggestive of Magadhan imperialism). The title for the Southerners, the kings of the people called Sautvats, is Bhoja; that for the Western kings, the kings of the peoples called Nūchyas and Apāchyas, is Svarāt; that for the kings of the North, beyond the Himalayas, viz., the countries Uttara Kuru and Uttara-Madra, is Vvaīt; and that for the kings of the middle country, viz., of the Kuru-Païchālas and Usinaras, is simply Rāja.¹

" सामाच्याय ताखादे तस्त्रां प्राच्यां दिशि ये के च प्राचानां राजानः सामाच्ययिव ते अभिषचने ।

तसादेतसां दिशासां दिशि ये के च सलतां राजानी भीषार्थय ते स्वभिष्चिने।

तकादेतस्यां प्रतीर्थादिशि थे के च नीचानां राजानी के पाचानां साराकाधैय ते अभिषियने।

तकाहेतसामुदीचां दिशि ये के च परेच पिसवनं जनपदा जनरकुरव चनरवड़ा इति वैराव्यविव ते श्री-पिचानी।

नकादस्थां भुवायां सध्यमायां प्रतिष्ठायां दिशि से लेच

(4) Ekarāja: meaning "sole ruler," "monarch." It is used metaphorically in the Rig-Veda, VIII. 37, 3, but in the literal sense in the Attareya Brāhmaṇa," VIII. 15, as well as in the Attarvaveda," III. 1, 4, 1.

According to Śukranīti [I. 188–187, ed. Oppert], the generic term Nripati (¬\$\sqrt{n}\$'\] embraces the following classes of kings arranged in an ascending scale of income and power, viz., Sāmanta (¬\$\sqrt{n}\$\sqrt{n}\$), Māṇ-

कुरपञ्चालामां राजागः सबझोझीनरायां राज्यायैव तेशीन-पिच्यने राजेलेगामधिपिक्तामाचचते॥"

[&]quot;रकराखस्य भुवनस्य राजस्य अस्तीपत इन्द्र विश्वाभि-रुतिभिः।"

² ". . . प्रथियों समुद्र पर्यान्ताया स्कराडिति ।"

⁹ "आ लागन राष्ट्रं धच वर्षभीदिचि प्राक् निर्मापतिरे-कराहले विराज," which is thrus paraphraed by Signons के राजन् ताराष्ट्रं गतुमिराकान्ते एकीचे राज्ये अदरासकत तत्तरलं वर्षणा नदेन धच छदिचि छदितः प्रख्वातो भग। अवनमः प्राक् पूर्वं विश्वां प्रज्ञानां धर्वासो पतिः पालकः यन् रफराट निरम्पलो नुख्यो राजा सूना लं निराज विज्ञेषण दीयक।

dalika (মাফলিজ), Rājā (रাজা), Mahārāja (মহারাজা), Samrāṭ (ঘলাহ), Virāṭ (বিবাহ), and Sārvabhauma (বাৰ্জধীন).

xx

Along with these terms for the suzerain there were also corresponding terms to indicate paramount power, sovereignty or overlordship. Thus the term $R\bar{a}jya$ is the general word denoting "sovereign power." It occurs in Atharavaveda, III. 4, 2; IV. 8, 1; XI. 6, 15; XII. 3, 81; XVIII. 4, 81. It also occurs in Taittiviya Sahhitā, II. 1, 3, 4; 6, 6, 5; VII. 5, 8, 8, etc.; in Aitareya Brāhmana, VII. 28, etc., and Jaiminīya Upaniṣad Brāhmana, I. 4, 5. In some places the word Svārājya,

¹ Might is not refer to republise or free states such, for instance, as those of the Licchavis, the Sakyas, the Mallas of Rusinara which were themselves also called by the name of Rājya (Twg) with their Presidents called Rāja (Twg)? Thus according to the Arthaástra [xi. 160– 161] the title Rājā applies to the heads of the common"uncontrolled dominion," is opposed to Rājya: e.g., Kāthaku Sahhitā, XIV. 5; Maitrāyani Sahhitā, I. 11, 5 (cf. Taititryani Brāhmaṇa, I. 3, 2, 2). The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa [VIII. 12, 4, 5, etc.] gives a whole series of terms to indicate various shades and degrees of sovereignty, viz.:—Rājya, Sāmrājya, Bhaujya, Svārājya, Vairājya, Pāramashiya, Māhārājya, Āāhipatya, Svāvasya. The term Āāhipatya also occurs in Panchavińsa Brāhmaṇa, XV. 3, 35, and in Chhāndogya Upaniṣad, V. 2, 6.

wealths of Lichehhivika, Vrijika, Mallaka, Madraka, Kukura, Kuru, Panehala, etc. (" जिल्लिविकडिजन-मक्षक-सदक-कुकुर-कुर-पाक्षास्त्रो राजमब्दोपजीविकः।")

What lends colour to the supposition is the reference in the Astarega Brālmana to the kings of the Western peoples who were called Savarāt as distinguished from the Eastern kings known as the Samrāts. For the free states and claus of ancient India, see Rhys David's Buddhist India, p. 174.

¹ Among other terms preserved in Sanskrit literature to indicate paramount sovereignty are:—Sărvechlauma (ঘান্দ্রীয়া), Răjarāja (মান্দ্রাভা), Visvarāt (বিশ্ববাহ), Chakravartt (শ্রেশ্বার্ণ), ctc.

XXI

Next there were the well-known ceremonies¹ in connection with the coronations of emperors. These were generally the Vājapeya and the Rājasūya, the accounts of which as preserved in Vedic literature demonstrate how firmly the conception of an Ekarāt (one-sovereign) India seized the popular mind. According to the Śatapatha Brāhmana [V. 1, 1, 13] and also Kātyāyana Śrauta Sutra [XV. 1, 1, 2], the Vājapeya is the superior sacrifice because it bestows on the sacrificer paramount sovereignty (Sāmrājya), while the Rājasūya merely confers royal dignity (Rājya). In the words of the above-

An interesting and informing article on "Rituals at Hindu Coronation: its Constitutional Aspects," by Mr. Kashiprasad Jayaswal, B.A. (Oxon), Bar. at-Law, appeared in the Modern Review for January, 1912.

mentioned verse of the Satapatha Brāhmana, "by offering the Raiasuva he becomes king, and by the Vajapeva (he becomes) emperor (Samrāi); and the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher; a king might indeed wish to become emperor, for the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher; but the emperors would not wish to become kings, for the office of king is the lower and that of emperor the higher."1 According, however, to other authorities, the Vajapeva is the preliminary ceremony performed by a king who is elected paramount sovereign by a number of petty rājās, this sacrifice being followed in due course by the installation and consecration ceremony, the Rajasuya. Thus, as laid down in Asvalāyana Śrauta Sūtra [IX. 9, 19], "after performing the

[&]quot;राज्या वै राज खरेने द्वा भवति । समाङ्वाज मेथेनावरं द्वि राज्यं परं सामाञ्चं कामधेत वै राज्या समाङ्भिति तुमवरं द्वि राज्यं परं सामाञ्चम ।"

Vājapeva a king may perform the Rājasūva." With this rule would seem to accord the relative values assigned to the two ceremonies in the Taittiriya Sanhitā [V. 6, 2, 1] and the Taittiriya Brähmana [II. 7, 6, 1], according to which the Vājapeya is a Samrātsavā or consecration to the dignity of a paramount sovereign. while the Rajasuya is called a "Varunasavā," i.e., according to Sāyana, a consecration to the universal sway wielded by Varuna (cf. Sānkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra, XV. 13, 4: "for it is Varuna whom they consecrate"). In much the same sense also we have doubtless to understand the rule in which Latyayana defines the object of the Vajapeya [VIII. 11, 1], viz., "Whomsoever the Brahmans and kings (or nobles) may place at their head, let him perform the Vājapeya."1 Among the rites peculiar to the Vajapeva, the most

[&]quot;यं प्राञ्चाका राजानच पुरख्तुवीरित् स वाजपेयेन सजेता।"

interesting is the chariot race, in which the sacrificer is allowed to carry off the palm, and from which the sacrifice derives its name. After the chariot race the next interesting item is the mounting of the sacrificial post by the sacrificer (the king-elect) and his wife, from which homage is made to the mother Earth, followed by the seating on the throne, the symbol of sovereignty, "for he gains a seat above others" [Satapatha Brāhmana, V. 2, 1, 24]. The ascent to the throne as a symbol of kingship is also mentioned in the Atharvaveda [III. 1, 4, 21, where the throne is most felicitously described as the highest point in the body politic ("rāstrasya kakudi śrayasya"). The sacrificer is then duly proclaimed King 1: "All ruler is he, N. N.! All ruler is he, N. N.!" [Śatapatha Brāhmana, V. 2, 2, 15]. And also in the following

[&]quot;समाज्यमधी समाज्यमधाविति निवेदितमेवैनमेतत् सन्तम्।"

words 1: "Thine is this state, thou art the ruler, the ruling lord—thou art firm and steadfast—to thee the state is given for agriculture, for well-being, for wealth, for prosperity, i.e., for the welfare of the people, the common weal " [ibid. V. 2, 1, 25].

XXII

The Rājasūya, or inauguration of a king, was a more complex ceremony, which consisted of a long succession of sacrificial performances spread over a period of upwards of two years. It is referred to in the Atharvaveda [IV. 8, 1; XI. 7, 7] and later literature such as Taittiriya Saúhitā [V. 6, 2, 1], Aitareya

1 "इसं ते राविति राज्यमेगास्त्रदेतरु दशाखरेगमाधा-द्यति यणाधि यसन इति यणाध्येतिनते दु समन मार्धा प्रज्ञानां करोति भुगोर्थक घरण इति भुगगेर्वेतसे तद् प्रचयसम्बाने के करोति कथे ना समाय ना रखेला पोषाय लेति गामने लेलोबैतहाल।" Brāhmaṇa [V. 1, 1, 12], etc. The rite is described at great length in the Sutras, but its main features are clearly outlined in the Brāhmanas, especially in the Śatapatha, and also in Maitrāyanī Sahhitā [IV. 3, 1, etc.], Taittiriya Sahhitā [I. 8, 1, 1, etc.], while the verses used in the ceremony are preserved in the Sahhitās of the Yajurveda, e.g., Taittiriya Sahhitā [I. 8], Kāthaka Sahhitā [XV.], Maitrāyaṇī Sahhitā [II. 6], and Vājasanaṇī Sahhitā [X.].

One of the most interesting features of the Rajasaya is the ceremony of the Ratnahavińsi or jewel offerings. The recipients of these offerings, the ratninal, were all the essential officers of the state representing its principal departments: they are, metaphorically, the "jewels" in the crown of sovereignty. They are mentioned in the Satapatha Brahmana [V. 3, 1, 3, etc.] in the following order: (1) Commander-in-chief (senani); (2) the king's court chaplain (अरोनिक); (3) the queen (करिकी); (4) the court-ministrel and

chronicler (इन); (5) the head of the village community (पामणी); (6) the chamberlain (খ্ৰম); (7) the head of the treasury (अंग्रहीड), which is explained by Sayana as धनगंपश्वनी कोशाध्य ; (8) the collector of taxes and revenue (धामद्रव); (9) the superintendent of dicing (चचावापा); (10) the superintendent of games and forests (बी-निकर्मन), who, according to Sāyana, was the constant companion of the king in the chase; and (11) the courier (पाजागज). There is another list given in the Taittiriya Sahhitā [I. 8, 9, 1, etc.] and Brāhmana [I. 7, 3, 1, etc.] which omits Go-nikartana and the courier and includes Rājanva. Likewise the Maitrāvanī Sanhitā [II, 6, 5 : IV, 3, 8] mentions Rājan, Vaisvagrāmanī and Taksa-ratha-kārau.1

¹ The Ratha-Eira, chariet-under, is mentioned in the Atheraceade [iii, 5, 6] as one of those who are to be subjects to the king, and seems to be regarded generally as a representative of the industrial population. He is also referred to in the Yajurveda Smithitis [e.g., Kittlack, xvii. 13; Mostriegans, ii. 9, 5; Tojuanseyi, xvi. 17; xx. 6] and in the Brahmanse [e.g., Taitfrivga, 1, 1, 4, 6; iii. 4, 2, 17], and in all these passages he seems to be of a formed caste.

i.e., the carpenter and chariot-maker (probably the representatives of industry). The Kāthaka Saihitā [XVI. 4] also gives the same list, but substitutes Go-vyacha and omits Taksa-ratha-kārau.

These lists were a development out of the simpler list given in the Atharvaveda [III. 5, 7] of the Raja-kartris or Rāja-krits who, not themselves kings, aided in the consecration of the king. These were the Suta, charioteer, the grāmanī, the village chief, and the people.1 The word Raja-karta in the Aitareya Brāhmana [VIII, 17, 5] is explained by the commentator to mean the king's father, brother, etc. It is, however, apparent from these lists of persons aiding in the royal coronation that both official and non-official or popular elements were represented in the function. The relation of jewels to the sovereign's 1 Cf. Atharvaveda [iii, 1, 4, 2] :-

लां विक्री दश्चर्ता राज्याय = "the people elect you to rulership." In Taittiriya Saúhitā [ii. 3, 1, 3] the Viś clearly means the people.

crown must also be implied to be the relation subsisting between the king on the one hand and the state functionaries and other popular representatives on the other. Each is necessary for the other.

The next interesting feature in the Rājasūya was the Abhisechanīyam, the consecration ceremony. It begins with the offerings to the Divine Quickeners, viz., Savitā Satyaprasava for righteous energy, Agni Grihapati for householders' prosperity, Soma Vanaspati for growth of trees (flora or agriculture), Brihaspati Vāk for power of speech, Indra for lordship, governing capacity, Rudra for cattle, Mitra for truth, and Varuna Dharmapati for protection of the law, since "that truly is the supreme state when one is lord of the law." Then follow the preparation of the consecration water, made up of no less than seventeen kinds (including the waters of dew, pond and sea); the sprinkling by a Brahman, a kinsman of the king-elect, a Ksatriya

nobleman (rājanya) and a Vaisva; the investing of the king with the consecration garments and with how and arrows, three in number, as emblem of sovereignty, so as "to make all the quarters safe from arrows for him"; the announcements of the kingship to all classes of people, the Brahmans and Ksatriyas, priesthood and nobility, and even animate and inanimate nature: the ascending of the quarters, East, South, West, North and upper region, so that "he is high above everything here and everything here is below him"; the anointing with the following significant formula1: "Quicken him, O Gods, to be unrivalled for great chiefdom, for great lordship, for the government of the people whose king he is-this man, O ye ¹ अपपनं सुवद्गसितीमं देवा अभाडवं सुवद्गसियेवैतदाल

[े] चापम हमदिनांचे देश च्या ख्याडचं सुरुद्धित्येयेन दाण सदते च्याय सदते खेडायेति साथ तिरोध्ति सेवारास सदते जागरावायेति सदते जनागां राव्यायेत्वेते नदारेष्ट्र-खोन्द्रयायेति वीद्योयेत्वेतेन तदारु चदा चेन्द्रखोन्द्रयायेति । [Satopatha, v. 4, 2, 8.]

(Bharatāh in the Taittiriya Sanhitā), is your king . . . ! "

HIXX

Besides the Vaianeva and the Rajasuva. we find two other forms of the inauguration of great kings described in the Aitarena Brāhmana. They are called Punaravisekha and Aindra-mahābhisekha. The object of these special consecrations is thus described:-The priest who wishes that his Ksatriya king-elect should achieve all kinds of conquest, should know (by governing) all peoples, should attain to a position of leadership, precedence and superiority among kings, should secure sovereignty, a dominion of righteousness, absolute independence, highest distinction as a ruler, fulfilment of highest desires, the widest empire and highest authority, that he might be a universal overlord, with his powers reaching everywhere up to the limits of the sea, the sole master of his vast

dominion—such a priest should inaugurate the Kshatriya with Indra's great inauguration ceremony, demanding from him a promise on oath that he will lose everything, even the accumulated fruits of his good deeds, all he has, even his life, if he attempts violation of right and truth 1

XXIV

The elaboration of the rituals connected with these imperial inaugurations,² which

¹ श्वरं सर्वेषां राज्ञां श्रेद्धमतिष्ठां परमतां मञ्चरं सामाज्ञे भोच्यं लाराव्यं वेराव्यं पारमेद्धां राज्यं माण्डाराञ्यं चाणि-प्रयमसं समन्त्रपर्वाशीक्षां भाव्यंभोचः साव्यंश्वर चाल्याहा-परार्द्धात प्रथियं समझ्यर्थनाया रक्तर्राव्यति ।

² Along with the ceremonies of the Vājapṣṣṇ, Rāja-stya, and Awamenha should also be noticed the institution of Digvijaya, which was inseparable from the conception of a paramonts sovereign in the popular Hindu mind. Sanskith literature, epic, paumanio or classical, is full of references to this institution, and the more prominent examples of Digvijaya are those of Sateughua, Arjuna (see Jaimini Bhāraba), Raghu (see Raghuwafsa), Pashpamitra (see Mālavīkāguinolītra), Sanundu Gupţa, Harsavardhana, Gautamiputra Satakaryi, Pulakesi II., Lalitāditya of Kashmir (see Rāja-Tavangiūn), etc.

it is unnecessary to follow in greater detail for our present purpose, indicates without doubt the nature of the political environment in which it was developed. the height of the ideal which kingship in India had realised in practice. The geography of India has indeed partially influenced her history: her vast expanse had practically no limits in the eyes of the early settlers and colonisers; she was a world unto herself. An infinite stretch of territory produced a psychology, a philosophy that was easily dominated by a sense of the infinite and eternal. The Hindu Risi would recognise no limits to the development of his finite self. The Hindu king would also set no bounds to his political ambition, It was nothing short of universal sovereignty, which was reduced by the actualities of the objective environment into the sovereignty of the whole of India "up to the limits of

¹ For a similar sentiment, cf. Sister Niveditā's The Web of Indian Life, p. 143.

the ocean." The highest class in the hierarchy of Hindu kings was made up of those who were Asamudraksitisa ("आगमद्रीचनीण"). As the Aitareya Brāhmana puts it: "Monarchy at its highest should have an empire extending right up to natural boundaries, it should be territorially all-embracing, up to the very ends uninterrupted, and should constitute and establish one state and administration in the land up to the seas" (VIII. 4, 1). Thus it was again his religion which put before the Hindu king the ideal of making the area of authority co-extensive with that of territory. The territorial synthesis leads the way to the political synthesis and is in turn emphasised by it.

XXV

Side by side with these ideals and conceptions of an all-India overlordship, the books also preserve for us traditional

lists¹ of kings who are said to have succeeded in realising them in life—giving another proof that at least the conception of India, both as a political and geographical unit, was not foreign to Hindu consciousness. Such a list is to be found in the Aitareya Brāhmana [VIII. 14, 4; 19, 2] and mentions the following great kings, each of whom achieved the singular distinction of "subjugating the whole country up to its farthest limits in every direction":—

- Janamejaya Pārikṣita with his priest Tura Kāvaseya.
- (2) Śāryāta Mānava with his priest Chyavana Bhārgava.
- (3) Śatānīka Sātrájita with his priest Somaśuṣmā Vājaratnāyana.
- (4) Āmbāṣthya with his priests Parvata and Nārada.

¹ A comparative study of these lists in Sanskrit Literature will, however, tend to establish the historicity of these Indian great kings who proceded Chandragupta Maurya, the so-called first paramount sovereign of India. This should prove a very fruitful line of investigation.

(5) Yudhāńśrausti Augrasenya with the priests Parvata and Nārada.

(6) Visvakarmā Bhauvana with his priest Kasyapa.

(7) Sudăs Paijavana with his priest Vasistha.

(8) Marutta Āvikṣita with his priest Sanvarta.

(9) Anga Vairochana with his priest Udamaya Ātreya. He is said to have made to his priests gifts of innumerable cows, 80,000 white horses, 10,000 clephants, etc.

(10) Bharata Dausmanti with his priest Dirghatamā Māmateya. He is also said to have given away (i) innumerable elephants of black colour with white tusks and golden trappings in the country of Masāāra; (ii) innumerable cows to 1000 Brahmins of the country named Sāchīguna. He is also said to have kept 78 horses in a place on the Yamunā, and 55 in the place named Vritraghna on the Ganges for purposes of his horse-sacrifices,

and thus subdued the enemy's power. As the heavens are inaccessible to human hands, so was the height of Bharata's achievements to all classes of men—viz., the Brähmanas, Kṣatriyas, Vaisyas, Sudras and Nisādas (Sāyana). It was this Bharata after whom Bhāratavarşa was named as mentioned above.

(11) Durmukha Pāńchāla with his priest Brihaduktha.

(12) Atyarāti Jānantapi with his priest Vāsiṣṭha Sāṭyahavya. This king was afterwards deprived of his power for his breach of faith with his priest and was killed by his enemy Saivya Śuṣmiṇa. The land of Uttarakuru is also referred to as unconquerable in the story.

Besides the list of great kings in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa there is another list to be found in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa [XIII. 5, 4] of kings who performed the horse-sacrifice and were therefore recognised as paramount sovereigns. For the Asvamedha, as is well known, involved

an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without courting humiliation. The ruling of the \$\overline{Apas-tamba Śrauta Sūtra [XX. 1, 1]}\$ on the point may be quoted: "A king governing the whole land [Śarvabhauma wieńwin] may perform the Asvamedhá." The

1 "राजा मार्थभीसो यसे धेन यजीत।"

The Asyamedha sacrifice was performed in the following manner:- "A horse of a particular colour was consecrated by the performance of certain ceremonies and was then turned loose to wander for a year. The king, or his representative, followed the horse with an army, and when the animal entered a foreign country the ruler of that country was bound either to fight or to submit. If the liberator of the horse succeeded in obtaining or enforcing the submission of all the countries over which it passed, he returned in triumph with all the vanquished Rājās in his train; but if he failed he was disgraced, and his pretensions ridiculed. After his successful return, a great festival was held at which the horse was sacrificed [Dowson, Classical Dict.]." In the Asyamedha of Yudhisthira the horse is guarded in its year's roaming by Ariune, who first presses eastwards towards the sea, then turning southwards along the eastern shore as far as the extreme point of the peninsula, turns northwards on the homeward way, passing along the western coast.

list of these Asvamedhins is given as follows:—

- Janamejaya Pārikṣita with his Riṣi Indrota Daivāpa Śaunaka.
 - 2. Bhimasena
 - Ugrasena the Pārikṣitas.
 - 4. Śrutasena
 - Para Ātnāra, the Kausalya king.
 - Purukutsa, the Aikṣāka king.
- 7. Marutta Avikṣita, the Āyogava king.
- Kraivya, the Pāńchāla king ("the Pāńchāla overlord of the Krivis").

The historical list of Arvamedhihus includes the following names: (1) Pealsyunitie [see Milavidiagninitim Act V.]; (2) Samudnagupta [see Udayagiri Cave Inscription of Chandragupta II, L. 6.; Billead Stone Inscription of Kumiragupta, I. 2, &c.]; (3) Kumiragupta I. and (4) Aldiyasens [see V. A. Smith's Zerby History of India, p. 296]. On some of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudnagupta, there occurs the legens are activated to Samudnagupta, there occurs the legens are activated as the consequence of the gold coins which are attributed to Samudnagupta, there occurs the velocity of the Velocity of Veloc

9. Dhvasan Dvaitavana, the king of the Matsyas.

10. Bharata Dauhṣanti ("who attained that wide sway which now belongs to the Bharatas"). He is said to have bound 78 steeds on the Yamunā and 55 near the Gangā and conquered the whole earth (cf. Aitareya Br. above).

- 11. Risava Yājñātura.
- 12. Sātrāsāha, the Pāńchāla king.
- Satānīka Sātrājita.

The Śankhāyana Śrauta Sutra [XVI. 9] also preserves a similar list of Asvamedhins, which includes the following kings:—

- 1. Janamejaya
- 2. Ugrasena 3. Bhīmasena
 - Pāriksitas.
- 4. Śrutasena
- 5. Risava Yājnātura.
- Vaideha Alhāra.
- Marutta Āvikṣita.

XXVI

These lists of great kings preserved in Vedic literature are also supplemented by other lists in the Puranas and other works. The Kürma Purāna [XX. 31] mentions King Vasumanā; the Padma Purana mentions King Dilipa and his predecessors Manu, Sagara, Marutta and Yavāti [IV. 110-118]; while the Agni Purana [ch. 219, 50-51] mentions Prithu. Dilipa, Bharata, Vali, Malla, Kakustha, Yuvanāsva, Javadratha, Māndhātā, Muchukunda, Pururayāh, The Brahma Purāna mentions Pururavāh, who is called Prithivipati 1 (प्राचनीपात), Bhima, called Rajarat.2 Yavati.8 who subdued the earth up to the seas, Kartavirva-Arinna.4 who is called Samrātchakravarttī. The Brahmanda Purana mentions Prithu.⁵ The Märkandeya mentions Pururaväh 6

¹ X. 9. ² X. 18. ³ XII. 18. ⁴ XIII. 174. ⁵ LXIX. 1, 2, 3. ⁶ CXI, 18.

as Chakravartti and Marutta. The Siva Purana mentions Chitraratha,2 Prithu2 as Chakravartti, and Harischandra 4 as Samrāt. The Linga Purāna mentions Yayāti,5 Kārtavīrya-Arjuna,6 Śaśavinda,7 and Uśanā.8 The Skanda-Purāna mentions Kārtavīrya as Samrāt Chakravarttī. The Bhagayata Purana mentions Mandhātā 10 and Sagara 11 as Chakravarttī and Muchukunda 12 as Akhandabhümipa. The Devipurana uses the word Ekarat 18 in respect of a Daitya named Ghora. The Visnu-nurāna mentions Sagara.14 Chandra,15 Bharata,18 Mahapadma Nanda,17 and Chandragupta.18 The Vayu mentions Sagara,19 Kärtavīrya-Arjuna 20 and Uśanā.21 The Matsya mentions Pururavah 22 and Puru.28 the son of Yavati.

¹ CXXXII. 8, 4. ² XXIV. 84, 85. ³ Ibid. 65, 66. ⁴ LXI. 21. ⁵ LXVII. ⁶ LXVIII. ⁸ Ibid. ⁶ Praväsa-khanda, XX. 11, 12.

¹⁰ IX. vi. 84. ¹¹ Thid. 4. ¹² X. li. 14. ¹³ II. 89. ¹⁴ III. iv. 17. ¹⁶ VI. iv. 6.

XIX. iv. 9.
 XXIV. iv. 5.
 XXIV. iv. 7.
 LXXXVIII. 144.
 XXIV. iv. 7.

²¹ XCV. 28. 22 XXIV. 11. 25 XXXIV. 25.

The Mahābhārata in many places refers to the great Indian kings of old. A complete enumeration of them is contained in the Śantiparva [ch. XXIX.], where the following kings are named:—

- 1. Marutta, son of Aviksita.
 - 2. Suhotra, son of Atithi.
- 3. Brihadratha, the King of the Angas.
 - 4. Śivi, the son of Uśinara, "who swayed the whole earth as one sways the leathern shield, and the wheels of whose victorious chariot rolled unopposed over the whole earth, who brought the whole earth under one authority," 1 etc.
 - Bharata, the son of Dusmanta and Sakuntalā, who, as stated above

श्रद्धां प्रतिवृद्धिं सन्त्रां चर्मावत् । सन्ता रचनोपेच प्रधिवीसत्त्रादयन् । एक च्यत्रां मन्त्रीं चन्ने जीवेचैकरणेन सः ॥

[89-41]

in the Aitareya Brāhmana, sacrificed three hundred horses on the banks of the Yamunā, twenty on the Sarasvatī, and fourteen on the Gangā.

- Rāma, son of Daśaratha.
- 7. Bhagiratha of Iksāku dynasty.
- 8. Dilīpa.
- Māndhātā, son of Yuvanāśva, who subdued the whole earth and vanquished the following kings, viz., Angāra, Marutta, Asita, Gaya and Brihadratha, the King of the Angas,² and on whose wide empire "the sun never sets."
 - 10. Yayāti, son of Nahūsa, who con-
 - 1 यो वञ्जा विश्वतं चात्रान् देवेश्यो घसुनासम् चरस्वती विश्वतित्व सहासम् चतुर्दशः॥

श्रीसमं प्रथिती सर्वा एकाझासमपदात । यथाङारस्तु मृपति संगत्तमसितं गयम् । खन्ने एक्टमथवक्षे मान्याता समरेष्क्रयत् ॥

यच ऋ्याँ उदेतिस यच च प्रतिसिष्टति । सर्व्यं तद्वीवनायस सामातुः चेवस्चते ॥ (८७, ८६, ९०)

рот, ов, яс н 2

[46]

quered the whole earth up to the seas and performed a hundred Vājapeyas.¹

- Ambarisa, the son of Nābhāga, the king of innumerable kings.²
 - Sasavindu, the son of Chitraratha.
 - 13. Gaya, the son of Amurtharayas.
 - 14. Rantideva, son of Saukriti.
- Sagara of Ikṣāku dynasty, whose sway extended over the whole earth.³
 - 16. Prithu, the son of Vena.

The Arthaśāstra of Kauţilya also gives expression to the conception of an all-India overlord and a list of kings who

³ रकच्छ्या सची थस्य प्रतापादभवत् पुरा। [182] realised that ideal. The paramount sovereign is called chāturantorājā (चातुरनी राजा) [Mysore edition, p. 11], i.e., whose dominion extends up to the farthest limits in the four quarters of the country; he is also represented as governing the whole country with none to dispute his right (" अनना प्रविनी मुंके") [ibid.] His dominion (chakravarti ksetram चलवर्षिचम्) is specially defined as the country between the Himalayas and the ocean, which is an evident reference to Chandragupta's sovereignty िश्विमवत् समुद्राम्मरं चक्रविमेचेचं (Mysore ed., p. 33)]. There is a list of kings which includes the following names: (1) Dandyakya-Bhoja, (2) Vaideha-karāla, (3) Janamejaya, (4) Tālajangha, (5) Aila, (6) Ajavindu-Sauvira, (7) Rāvana, (8) Duryodhana, (9) Dambodbhava, (10) Haihaya-Arjuna, (11) Vātāpi. These kings all failed to be great because of their want of self-control and subjection of the senses. Among the successful

great kings are named Ambarīṣa and Nābhāga [see pp. 11, 12, Mysore ed.].

XXVII

Following this long line of great Indian kings we come across the illustrious name of Yudhisthira, who proclaimed his overlordship and paramount-power before the Imperial Durbar at Indraprastha, to which were invited kings from the remotest parts of India and beyond to render him homage and realise the unity of that vast empire into which were federated their smaller kingdoms. For the Mahābhārata preserves for us a picture of India that was divided politically into innumerable small states, kingdoms and republics, whose mutual jealousies and animosities afterwards culminated in the Great War of the Mahābhārata. It was left to the superior power of Yudhisthira to arrest these disruptive tendencies for a time by the evolution of a peaceful confederation in which every state was kept in its proper sphere and orbit to promote the larger life of the whole. That this task of political reconstruction was not an easy one, that the ancient Sastric ideal of kingship of bringing the whole country "up to the sea" under the voke of a common authority was difficult to achieve was thus recognised by Yudhisthira [Sabhā parva, XV. 27: "There are kings everywhere living independently, doing what they like, but they have not attained to the rank of emperor, for that appellation is difficult to obtain."1 The situation was indeed full of difficulties. There were powerful kings on every side aiming at overlordship. To the north there was Hastināpura, the capital of the Kurus. To the east Mathurā was held by a powerful sovereign. To the south the King of Malava was a standing menace,

[&]quot;ग्रन्थं ग्रन्थे चिराजानः खस्य खस्य प्रियंकराः। न च सामाञ्चनाप्तासं समाय्यव्यो हि ठच्छनाक्।"

and to the west there was the principality of Virāta equally ambitious. There were other mighty kings in different parts of India, but the most powerful of them was Jarāsandha, King of Magadha, who aspired to suzerainty. His subjugation was the first achievement of the Pandus in their career of an all-India conquest, and four grand military expeditions were then organised, one to proceed to each quarter of India. Arjuna assumed the command of the northern advance, and to his might fell victims the Kulindas, the Kālakutas, the Avarthas, the Śvākala-dvipis; Bhagadatta of Prāgivotisa; the Himalayan chiefs such as those of Uluka, Modapura, Vainadeva, Sudāman, Susankula, Devaprastha, etc.; also the Kirātas and the Chīnas. Ariuna then turned towards the west through Kashmir to Balkh and, on his way back, through Kamboja, Darada, etc. Across the Himalavas were encountered the kings of Kimpilla-varsa and Hālaka near Mānasa lake and, lastly,

Uttarakuru. The second expedition was led by Bhima towards the east, subduing Drupada, Dasarna, the Pulindas, Chedi, Kosala, Ayodhyā, Uttara Kosala, Urulla and the Terai; then Kasi, the Matsyas, the Maladas, Madadharas, the Vatsabhumivas, the Bhangas, the Santakas and Varmakas, and several Kirāta and other races. Mithila courted alliance and Magadha paid tribute. Then the country of Karna (Bhagalpur) was subdued and subsequently the petty chiefs of Vanga. The southern advance was under Sahadeva, who similarly marched victorious through many petty kingdoms and, crossing the Narmada, passed through Kiskindhä, Mahismati to Southern India, securing the allegiance of Dravida, Sarabhipattanam, Tāmra island, Timingila (the country of the whale), Kalinga, Andhra, Udra, Kerala, Tālavana, Cevlon and other places. On his way home, he passed along the western coast through Surat to Guzrat, and finally

returned home, laden with wealth and presents. Nakula, leading the western expedition, passed through Rohitaka and thence Southern Rajputana to Mahettha, Sivi, Trigarta, Ambastha, Mālava, Pañchkaiphatas, Mādhyamaka, Vatadhāna; thence he turned towards Puşkara and, through the Abhira country, marched on to the Punjab and encountered in the north-west the Pallavas, Barbaras, Kirātas, Yavanas and the Śakas, from all of whom he obtained valuable presents and acknowledgment of allegiance.

Thus the whole of India for the time resounded with the din of the conquering marches of the Pānḍavas asserting the authority of a superior power; the whole country was united in submission to a sovereign claiming its homage and alliance. India once again was imagined and used as a political unit; the different parts were integrated into a federal whole; the separated lives

of the provinces were united in a common life.

XXVIII

The story of Yudhisthira known to every Hindu has accordingly immensely popularised the old Vedic conception of an all-India sovereignty of which Yudhisthira was such a prominent embodiment. The idea became one of the current political notions of the ancient Hindus, not a subject of thought but an integral part of thought. It lost none of its strength in later times. It had sufficient vitality to stamp its impress on the earliest Buddhist thought. We are generally familiar with the influences of Hinduism on Buddhism: we know how Buddhism is rooted deep in the religious speculation of the Hindus. But we do not know that some of the fundamental religious conceptions of the Buddhists were inspired by Hindu political thought as distinguished from Hindu religious thought.

For the early Buddhist ideas of the Buddha were dominated by the then prevailing Hindu ideal of the chakravarti Rājā to which the Buddha was always thought and described to conform. The Hindu ideal was understood by the Buddhists and explained in the early Suttas to be that of "a King of Kings, a righteous man who ruled in righteousness, lord of the four quarters of the earth, invincible, the protector of his people, possessor of the seven royal treasures." 1

The first of these treasures was the treasure of the wheel which is represented to roll onwards, like the sun in old Vedic poetry, to the very extremities of the world conquering and to conquer.² The

Madis-Sudassans Stata in S. B. E., Vol. xi., p. 288.
**Of. Rig-ead [vii 28, 29]: "The much-landed Indra.
I indian by means of the song as a cattwright bends the mof a wheel made of good wood "; and also [i. 29, 36] "the lightning in his hand rules over all men as the rim of a wheel embraces the spokes." In the Sulfa the wheel is represented to have rolled towards the East, South, West and North followed by the Emperor to whom "all rival kings became subject."

second treasure of the King of Kings is the white elephant which can carry its master across the broad earth to its very ocean boundary like the Airāvata of Indra, "the personification of the great white, fertilising rain-cloud so rapid in its passage before the winds of the monsoon over the vault of heaven." The third treasure was the treasure of the horse. probably also derived from the Vedic "charger-King whose name was thundercloud." The fourth was the treasure of the gem called the Veluriya (from which the word beryl is probably derived), "the splendour of which spread round about a league every side," like the jewel of lightning with which Indra in the Vedas slavs the demon of darkness. Fifthly, the King of Kings is the possessor of a pearl among women; and the two last treasures are a treasurer and an adviser. faithful servants, like the pearl among women, of the king of kings.

Such a king of kings the early Bud-

dhists saw in Buddha who became the ruler of a supernatural world, an empire of truth; whose wheel was the wheel of the Dharma which the King of Righteousness himself had set rolling onwards, that wheel which will roll over all the world, unchecked in its course; whose Prime Minister was his chief disciple Sariputta; and whose teaching, like rain cloud, rained down the ambrosia of bliss, fertilising right desires, extinguishing the fires of lust, hatred and ignorance.

Thus the old Hindu conception of a paramount overlordship having reference to an actual empire was seized by early Buddhist thought to describe its achievement which resulted in the foundation of an ideal empire, the empire of righteousness in the hearts of men. The Hindu Chakravartt was he who made

¹ Cf. Selasutta in Suttanipāta [III. 7, 7]: "A King am I, Sela, the King Supreme Of Righteousness. The royal chariot wheel In righteousness do I set rolling on that wheel that no one can turn back again."

the wheels of his chariot roll unopposed over all the world; the wheel was the symbol of his power. But Buddha was a different kind of Chakravarttī: he who set rolling the royal chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteousness. His wheel was the symbol not of power but of Dharma. His work is accordingly described as Dhamma chakkappavattana, which is the name given to the famous Sutta in which is embodied the very essence of Buddha's teachings.\(^1\)

XXIX

It is thus abundantly clear that in the days of ancient Buddhism the whole of India was comprehended as a single territory to be brought within the scope of one all-embracing authority though the conception was expanded and idealised by Buddhist religious fervour. And

¹ See Rhys Davids, Hibbert Lecture, pp. 129 and 4, Buddhism, pp. 45, 46, 220, and S. B. E., Vol. XI.

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Chandra Gupta was thus not the first to conceive and realise the ideal of paramount sovereignty, but only came into the possession of a rich inheritance which his genius utilised and improved to the fullest extent. His success naturally contributed a good deal to the strength and popularity of the ideal he represented and realised. The problem "How can a king become a king of kings?" soon became a favourite familiar topic of discussion in the ancient schools of political thought. It gave rise to much scientific, systematic speculation, which was embodied in the theory of the Mandala or Circle of Kings as outlined in the works on Nīti-Śāstra. We find expositions of this theory both in the Arthaśāstra of Kautilya and the Nīti-Sāra of Kāmandaka in which there are also references to earlier authorities. The theory postulates the natural inevitable desire of small kings to become great and finds in that instinct the regulative principle or law which rules the political world in almost the same sense as gravitation rules the physical; which determines the evolution of states and the growth of empires and establishes a stable equilibrium and a balance of power.

The whole country is conceived of as a political circle (www) at the centre of which is the head (wwwfirty), who is technically called Vijigisu (fafanty), the would-be conqueror, who is to emerge as the paramount power dominating the system, who "shines in his sphere like the full moon." The normal political circle is that formed by twelve kings, including the central victorious king or sovereign, round whom are ranged, both in the front and rear, nine subordinate kings in varying degrees of friendliness and hostility, and two neutral kings (called

¹ Kamandaki, VIII. 2, 3.

रवी विराजने राजा विश्वद्वे मण्डले चरन् रोचने सर्वभूतेभ्यः मशीवालण्यमञ्जलः।

² सर्व्यक्रोकप्रतीतंतु स्कृटं द्वाद्श्रराज्यकम्—[Ibid. 41.]

सध्यम and चदाचीन). This confederation of twelve kingdoms connected with one another by all possible kinds of political relationship is regarded as an approximation to the actual state of things, a map of the actual political situation, showing also its possible developments due to all conceivable changes of attitude of the component units. Thus the variations of the normal political system have been noticed by the ancient authors of polity. Kautilva mentions a confederation or circle of three kings who may constitute a "sphere of influence"; Maya2 of four kings (খনজনগভন): Pulomā a of six kings: Brihaspati of eighteen kings; and Visalaksa of fifty-four kings, and so forth. Thus the central monarch will find his sphere of action embracing both friendly and hostile kingdoms,6 but if he is self-

^{1 &}quot; विजिमी धुर्मित्रं सिवसित्रं वाऽस्य प्रक्षतयः तिसः।"

^{*} Kāmandaki, VIII. 20. [Arthaśāstra, VI. ii. 17.]

³ Ibid. 71. ' Ibid. 28. ⁵ Ibid. 28. ' Ibid. 21: '' चाकीर्ष सण्डलं सर्व्य सिचैररिमिरंव च।''

possessed, strong in all the elements of sovereignty, he is bound to achieve preeminence and attain to suzerainty ("x **\square\squar

े Arthadistra, V., vi., 14, 15. The "elements of sovereignty" are "हाग्यामायण नगप दूरकोश स्वाहित्याचित्र पार्च हैं। हार्माण के प्रतिकार किया है। देति हो कि किया है। किया है।

इति साराजा नयवर्ताना प्रजान् समुदासी सम्बद्धाः स्टब्स् विराजने साधु विद्यादसम्बद्धाः

शर्षकांव प्रतिनन्द्थम् प्रजाः॥ Also Arthaśästra, VI. i. 17:

" व्यावारत्तकपदेशोऽपि युक्तः प्रकृति-सम्पद्। । नयजः प्रथिनी कृत्सा जयस्य न सीयते॥" Again (VI. ji, 17):

वेसिमेकानराम् राजः स्रवाचाननारामराम् नाभिमासानमाथक्येत् नेता प्रस्तिमण्डले ॥

("The leader of the confederation or circle of states

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But the ideal of a paramount sovereign dominating the whole of India, besides expressing itself in literature, utters itself in no uncertain tones through some of the early Indian epigraphic records. Thus the term Mahārāja (अचराच्च), lit., a great king, was used as one of the titles of paramount sovereignty by Kaniska, Huviska, and Vāsudeva, who, there is every reason to believe, were paramount sovereigns, in their inscriptions of the years 9, 39, and 83. It is also used, in conjunction with the higher title of Rājātirāja, "superior king of kings," by the same three kings in their inscriptions

will make himself the nave of a wheel, of which the rim or circumference will be formed by the combination of friendly chiefs (lit., those kings who are separated from the central king by another king) and the spokes by the inimically inclined chiefs and will thus control the whole system.")

Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III., p. 81, Pl. XIII., No. 4; p. 82, Pl. XIV., No. 9; and p. 34, Pl. XV., No. 16.

of the years 11, 47, and 87.1 In still earlier days the same title Mahārāia, in conjunction sometimes with the title Rājātirāja, and sometimes with Rājarāja (राजराज), "king of kings" (the two together being equivalent to the Greek basileus basileon), was used on the bilingual coins of Hemokadphises2 (in conjunction with Rājātirāja) and of Azes3 (in conjunction with Rājarāja). It was also used by itself to represent the Greek basileus on the coins of Hermaeus. The title Rājādhirāja occurs by itself on some of the coins of Maues 4 and in conjunction with the title Mahārājā on some of the coins of Azes,5 while Rājātirāja occurs in the same sense but coupled with Maharaja in the Mathura inscription of Huviska

¹ Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III., p. 38, Pl. XIV., No. 12 and p. 35, Pl. XV., No. 18.

² Gardner and Poole's Catalogue of Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India, p. 124 ff.
³ Ibid., p. 73 ff.

⁴ Ibid., p. 68 ff., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11, and 17.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68 ff., Nos. 4, 5, 9, 11, and 17.
⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 85 ff., Nos. 138, 140, and 157.

Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III., p. 38, No. 12, and Pl. XIV.

of the year 47 and of Väsudeva 1 of the year 87.

In the inscriptions of the Guptas the following titles are used to indicate supreme paramount sovereignty, viz., Mahārājā-dhirāja (খলংঘলাদেহল), Parameśvara (খংলখে,) Paramashattāraka (খংলখিছার), Rājādhirāja (খলেখিছাল) and Chakravartin (খলেখিল). Thus the Allahabad posthumous stone pillar inscription of Samudragupta refers to him as "the Mahārājā-dhirāja, the glorious Samudragupta," and to his "conquest of the whole world." It also refers to him as "the son of the Mahārājā-dhirāja, the glorious Chandragupta I." and "the Mahādevi Kumāradevi," and "the Mahādevi Kumāradevi," and

¹ Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III., p. 35, No. 18, and Pl. XV.

[&]quot;... सन्दाराजाधिराजञी-चन्द्रगुप्त-पुचस्य-सन्दार्या-कुसार-दर्णा - चन्द्रमुख-सन्ताराजाधिराज-ची-मध्रुप्रुप्तास्य-धर्चप्रधियो - विजय - अनितोदय - बाप्त - सिखिलायधी-मलस्..."

Muhadewi was a technical title of the wives of paramount sowerigns along with Peramabhatstirlia and Bājāt [cf. Mandar Hill Inscriptions of Ādityasena, Nos. 44 and 45 and Doc. Baramark inscription of Tyritagupta II., No. 46 in Gorpus, Ing. Ind., Vol. III.].

also to Chandragupta II. as Paramabhattāraka.¹ The Erun stone inscription of Samudragupta compares him with the great ancient monarchs Prithu and Rāghava,³ and refers to his subjugation of "the whole tribe of kings upon the earth." §

The Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to him as Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja. The Mathurā stone inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to both Samudragupta and Chandragupta I. as Mahārājādhirāja, and to himself as the exterminator of all kings, who had no antagonist (of equal power) in the world and whose fame extended up to the shores of the four oceans, and who was the restorer of the

¹ L. 33 of the inscription.

^{*} L. 8—" न्यत्यः प्रथु-राधवादाः . . . "

[&]quot; L. 11—" पार्थिव-गणसाक्तलः प्रथियां . . .

⁴ L. 1, 2,-

[&]quot; सर्वाराजो चेनुः प्रथियामप्रतिरथस्य चतुरद्धिस-सिसा-सादित-यश्मो ..." L.5—" अयमेधा वर्तु..."

asvamedha-sacrifice that had been long in abeyance. The Sanchi stone inscription of Chandragupta II. also refers to him as Mahārājādhirāja, who has acquired banners of victory and fame in many battles.¹ Another Udayagiri cave inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to the purchasemoney of his prowess which bought the earth and made slaves of all kings,² and uses the epithet Rājādhirāja. The Gadhwa stone inscription of Chandragupta II. refers to him as Mahārājādhirāja.³

Kumaragupta is referred to as Mahārājadhirāja in the two Gadhwa stone inscriptions'; also in the Bilsad stone pillar inscription,⁶ which applies the epithet to his ancestors Chandragupta II.,⁹ Samudragupta,⁷ and Chandragupta I.

7 L. 4.

¹ L.4— "... चनेत-सनरानाप्त-विकाय-वशस-पताकाः..."

² L. 2—

[&]quot; विक्रभ-खायकाय-क्रीड़ादास्य-च्यक्भूत-पार्थिया..."

⁸ L. 1 and L. 10.

L. 1 in both the inscriptions.

and makes a special reference to Samudragupta as the restorer of Asvamedha sacrifice.\(^1\) The Mankuwur stone image inscription of Kumäragupta, however, refers to him only as a Mahārāja, which was then a subordinate feudatory title, either by a mistake or because of the reduction of Kumāragupta to feudal rank by the Pusyamitras and the Hunas. The Mandasor stone inscription also refers to Kumāragupta as reigning over the whole earth.\(^2\)

Skandagupta is called Mahārājādhirāja in the Bihar stone inscription, a which repeats the usual ancestral references and exploits. The Bhitari stone pillar inscription refers to him as the most eminent hero in the lineage of the Guptas, who by his conquests "subju-

¹ L. 2—"... अयमे घा दर्नु:..."

[&]quot; " प्रथिवी प्रशासित "-L. 18.

³ L. 22.

⁴ L. 7—"…. मुप्तयंक्रीकवीरः…"

gated the earth," and repeats the ancestral exploits. The Junagadh rock inscription calls him Rājarājādhirāj,2 who "made subject to himself the whole earth bounded by the waters of the four oceans," 3 who "destroyed the height of the pride of his enemies and appointed protectors in all the countries: 4 who is the banner of his lineage, the lord of the whole earth; whose pious deeds are even more wonderful than his supreme sovereignty over kings," 6 etc. The Kahaum stone pillar inscription refers to him as the lord of a hundred kings, "whose hall of audience is shaken by the wind caused by the falling down (in the act of performing

¹ L. 14—"... थो वाझभ्यासवर्षी विज्ञित्य..."

² L. 2.

³ "...चतुरद्धिजलानं-स्कीत-पर्यंनदेशं अवनीस-वनतारियं:..."

⁴ L. 6—"... एवं च जिला प्रथिवीं समगा-भगावद्षीन्-द्विपतय-कला-मर्जेषु देशेषु विधाय गोगुन..."

[°] L. 24—" दप्तारिद्र्यप्रणुद: प्रश्निय: - सर्वश्रकेतो: -सकलावनी-पत:—राजाधिराच्याद्भत-पुष्णकर्षणः..."

obeisance) of the heads of those hundred kings." The Indor copper-plate inscription of Skandagupta applies to him the titles Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja, and speaks of his "augmenting victorious reign." 2

The Meherauli posthumous iron pillar inscription of Chandra refers to him as having attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world and "the breezes of his prowess by which the southern ocean is even still perfumed," who crossed the seven mouths of the Indus and conquered the Vählikas.²

The Mandasor stone pillar inscription of Yasordharman describes him as a paramount sovereign holding sway over a large

¹ L. 1—" यस्योपस्थानभूभिर्नृपतिशतक्रिरः पातवाता-वधन..." L. 3—चितिपशतपते:..."

[ै] L. 8—"... परमभद्वारक-महाराजाधिराज-वी-स्कन्दगृप्तस्थाभि-वर्श्वमाण-विजयराज्य..."

³ L. 2—"तीका पप्तमुखान येन समरे सिमोर्कितावा हिलायस्मादायिवास्मते जलनिधिवीयानिकेदैंचियः।" L. 5—"... देताधिराकं चितो...।"

part of India from the river Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the mountain Mahendra. He is described as falling but little short of Manu and Bharata, Alarka and Mändhätri, the great kings of old, in whom the title of "universal sovereign" shines most.¹

Another Mandasor stone inscription of Viṣṇuvardhana applies to him the titles of Rājādhirāja and Paramesvara, and refers to his subjection of many mighty kings of the east and north.²

The long Alina copper-plate inscription of Siladitya VII. applies the epithets Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Chakravartin to Dharasena IV. and the first three epithets to

¹ L. 3—"... च श्रेयो-घामा-चचाड़ित समृ-सर-तास्त्रक्षेमान्याहकाचे क्ल्याचे देक्ति भाखन्-मणिरिव सुतरा भाजते यम ग्रन्थः।"

[°] L.6—"...प्राची मृपान् खबृडताथ बङ्जुदीचाः साम्तायुषा च बज्ञमान् प्रविधाय येन नामापरं जनति कान्तमस्रो दुरापं राजाधिराजपरमेश्वर इत्थुटूड्ड्म्।"

Śilādityadeva III., Śilādityadeva IV., Śilādityadeva VI., śilādityadeva VI., and Śilādityadeva VII.

The Mandar Hill rock inscription of Adityasena applies to him the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājādhirāja.

The Deo-Baranark inscription of Jivita-Gupta II. uses the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja and Paramesvara in respect of Devaguptadeva, Visnuguptadeva and Jivitaguptadeva II.

The Sonpat copper seal inscription of Harsavardhana applies the paramount titles Paramabhattāraka and Mahārājā-dhirāja to Prabhākaravardhana, Rajyavardhana II. and Harsavardhana.

The copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta discovered at Gayā repeats the paramount title Mahārājādhirāja and the achievements of Samudragupta and his ancestors.

Some of the historical inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India con-

part of India from the river Lauhitya or the Brahmaputra to the western ocean and from the Himalayas to the mountain Mahendra. He is described as falling but little short of Manu and Bharata, Alarka and Mandhätri, the great kings of old, in whome the title of "universal sovereign" shines most.¹

Another Mandasor stone inscription of Visnuvardhana applies to him the titles of Rājādhirāja and Paramesvara, and refers to his subjection of many mighty kings of the east and north.²

The long Alina copper-plate inscription of Siladitya VII. applies the epithets Paramabhattaraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Chakravartin to Dharasena IV. and the first three epithets to

¹ L. 8-"... च वेयो-धान्ति-सवादिति सनु-भर-तासक्षंमान्यादकचे वच्छाचे देखि भासन्-मिषरिव सुतरां धाजते यव भव्दः।"

[ः] L.6— "... प्राचो मृपान् सुनृहतास्य बङ्जनृदीचाः साम्रा च वस्यान् प्रविधाय येन नामापरं अवस्य कानसदी दुरापं राजाधिराजपरसेवर रस्थुदूब्ह्म्।"

Śilādityadeva III., Śilādityadeva IV., Śilādityadeva V., Śilādityadeva VI., and Śilādityadeva VII.

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The long Alina copper-plate inscription of Siladitya VII. applies the epithets Paramabhattāraka, Mahārājādhirāja, Parameśvara and Chakravartin to Dharasena IV. and the first three epithets to

^{&#}x27;L. 8-"... च त्रेथो-पास्त्र-पणाङ्गित सनु-भर-तासक्षंत्रभावत्रक्ते कसाचे देखि भासन्-सणिरिय सुतर्रा भाजते यत्र प्रव्हः।"

[°] L.6-"...प्राची शृपान् सुवृष्ठतास्य यङ्गृदीचाः सामा युधा च वशसान् प्रविधाय येन नामापरं जनति कान्तमदी दुरापं राक्षाधिराजयरमेश्वर दुख्दूबुद्म्।"

Śilādityadeva III., Śilādityadeva IV., Śilādityadeva V., Śilādityadeva VI., and Śilādityadeva VII.

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The copper-plate inscription of Samudragupta discovered at Gayā repeats the paramount title Mahārājādhirāja and the achievements of Samudragupta and his ancestors.

Some of the historical inscriptions in the cave-temples of Western India con-

tain references to titles of paramount sovereignty used by some successful kings. In the longest of the four inscriptions at Nasik of Gotamiputra 1 Śātakarni and Pulumāvi, Gotamiputra is spoken of as "king of kings," whose exploits rivalled those of Rāma, Kesava, Arjūna, Bhimasena: whose prowess was equal to that of Nābhāga, Nahūsa, Janamejava, Sagara, Yavāti, Rāma and Ambarīsa. The inscriptions of Pulakeśi II. (A.D. 611-634) show his assumption of the imperial title Paramesvara, lord paramount. Dantidurga, the Rāshtrakuta monarch who overthrew the Chalukyas, and his son Krisnarāja is spoken of in their copper-plate grants as having become paramount sovereigns. Their successor. Govinda III., is also made out by his Baroda copper-plate grant to have been a paramount king making and unmaking subordinate kings.

Some of the Bengal Pāla kings also

Aroh. Sur. W. Ind., No. 26,

used paramount titles of sovereignty as shown by their inscriptions. Thus a Nalanda inscription refers to Gopāla as Paramabhattāraka Mahārājādhiraja Parameśvara. Another of Buddha Gayā speaks of "Paramabhattāraka—Śrimān Mahipāla Deva." In a copper-plate inscription at Monghyr Gopāla is called "king of the world" and "likened unto Prithu, Sagara and others."

XXXI

Thus early Hindu history unmistakably shows that the political consciousness of the people had from very early times grasped the whole of India as a unit, and assimilated the entire area as the theatre of its activities. But the tide of life that was pulsating through India from end to

¹ Arch. Sur. Ind., Vol. III., pp. 114, 120, 122. There are many other Pala and other inscriptions in which there is a reference to paramount sovereignty or mention of paramount titles. It is needless for our purposes to refer to them all.

end, unifying and integrating its parts and varieties into one mighty organism, came inevitably in course of time to overflow its original geographical limits and spread itself over other lands. Indeed, there can hardly be a more convincing proof of the reality and strength of Indian unity than the story of Indian colonising activity and the gradual development of a Greater India across the seas. This is not the proper place 1 and occasion for the unfolding of that interesting history in all its details which is still one of the unillumined chapters of Indian history, and I content myself with stating here only the general conclusions and facts that stand out clear and definite. India for centuries sent out streams of colonists and emigrants to countries in the Far East, including Pegu. Siam, and Cambodia on the mainland. and to Java, Sumatra, Bali and Borneo

¹ The writer has under preparation a work on Greater India. See chapters in his History of Indian Shipping, etc. (Longmans, London), apposite to the subject.

among the islands of the Malay Archipelago, and "the reality of the debt due
to India by those distant lands is attested
abundantly by material remains, by the
existence to this day of both the Buddhist
and Brahmanical religions in the island
of Bali to the east of Java, by Chinese
history and by numerous traditions preserved in India, Pegu, Siam and the
Archipelago."

This colonising activity
resulted in the practical Indianisation of
the countries touched by it—the transplantation, and in some cases reproduction, of Indian art, institutions and even

¹ V. A. Smith's A History of Fine Art, etc., p. 269.
² In Java the forms of art are theoroughly Indian in subject more than the comply Indian in subject more proposed for the monument of Rore-builder, presenting no less than 9,000 bas-reliefs, the boat reliefs, numbering more than 200, are arranged in two sories, of which the upper presents in easily recognisable shoon pictures the life of Buddha as told in the ancient Sanskrit work Latita Vistara, while the lower has been proved to be an illustration of seenes from the Diepā-sadāna and other Buddhist romances, including some of the Jatakas. As regards other monuments, the following remarks of Mr. Sewell may be quoted: "Bernahanan and Ghandisewa are to all external quoted:

geographical names.\(^1\) It is well known that some of the triumphs and masterpieces of India Art exist outside India in those countries which came within her

According to Fergasson, the name Cambodia was given to a portion of Cochin-China by immigrants from Kamboja, š.a., from the Kabul valley. Among other geographical amons introduced into Jave and Cambodia may be mentioned Gandhara, Taxila, Hastinagara or Hastiangara, Rumadesa (apparently the South Punjabl, Ayodhya (the capital of Siam), and Intha-patha-puri (Indraprashla), the later capital of Cambodia.

appearances purely Brahmanical, though we learn on camination that Brahma, Visun and Siru were there had to be Bodhisattvan and not gods. And this in the case everywhere in Eastern Java, the temples being mostly Hindu in type (though always with a difference), and having statues adapted generally from Brahmanical originals."

The ruins at Angkor-Wat in Cambodia are also dis-

thestively of ancient Indian origin.

Slamese annuals date from a. n. 686, the colonisation
from India of Burna, Pegu, Siam and Cambodia, Ira
Cambodia, however, the cardistes recorded Indian relar
was Stratavarman in the middle of the fifth century,
followed by Bhavavarman, who founded many temples
in honour of Indian deities, especially Siva, at which
daily readings of the epics and Purnana were hold.
Indian influence was at its height in Cambodia in the
sixth century (Kern quoted by V. A. Smith, A. Ristory
of Fina Art, etc., p. 931. Traditions of the migrations
from India to India-China date them from a much arther
from India to India-China date them from a much arther

influence, while the ideas and institutions travelled with the spread of Buddhism,

The earliest is the mythic account of the neriod. conversion of Indo-China to Buddhism before the time Probably the eastward colonisation was originally becum by the Dravidians in the pre-Christian era and continued in subsequent periods. Next, a migration in the first century A.D. of Yavanas or Sakas from Tamluk or Ratnävati on the Hugli is in agreement with the large number of Indian place-names recorded by Ptolemy (A.D. 160) [see Hunter's Orissa, I. 310]. Of this migration Hiuen Tsang's name, Yavana (Yen-mo-na), for Cambodia, may be a trace [Beal's Life of Hiven Tsang, xxxiil. A Saka invasion further explains Pausanias' (A.D. 170) name Sakaea for Cochin-China, and his description of the people as Skythians mixed with Indians. [Quoted in Bunbury's Ancient Geography, ii. 659. Bunbury suggests that Pausanias may have gained his information from Marcus Aurelius' (a.D. 166) ambassador to China. There were fresh migrations during the fifth and sixth centuries, while among the deciphered Cambodian inscriptions there is evidence pointing to a Brahman dynasty, whose local initial date is in the early years of the seventh century, and one of whose kings, Somasarman (A.D. 610), is recorded to have held daily Mahabharata readings in the temples [Barth in Jour. Asiatique. ser. vi, tom. xix, p. 150, and ibid. x, 57, quoted in Bombau Gasetteer, vol. i, part il.

From Java the Hindus colonised Banjor Massin in Borneo, which was probably the most eastern of superior workmanship with Hindu figures also occur at Weahoo, 400 miles from the coast [Dalton's Diaks of Bourneo,

Jour. Asiatique (N.S.), vii, 153].

which in its Mahavanist form and development was accepted by Tibet, Nepal and China with the neighbouring countries. as also parts of Farther India and Java, and in its Hinavana form gained, besides the countries of Farther India and Cevlon. Burma, Siam and Cambodia, This propagation of Indian thought and institutions was undoubtedly the work of countless colonists and missionaries carried on through centuries, whose zeal must have been fed by a rich and stable national self-consciousness developed on a common soil and country. The colonising movement was (and always is) but the crest of a wave of popular enthusiasm for the country created and sustained by the realisation of its individuality and sacredness, a profound appreciation of all that it stands for, its ideals and institutions.

XXXII

We have now seen how in the past both religion and political experience contributed to the growth of a geographical sense in the people and to the perception of the fundamental unity of India behind her continental vastness and variety. The whole of the country was thus easily and naturally grasped by the national thought as a geographical unit whose strength and fervour triumphed over the physical difficulties of pre-mechanical ages in the way of having an intimate knowledge of the different parts which were welded into a whole. It was in a real sense the conquest of matter by mind; the subjection of the physical to the spiritual. India as a whole was realised as the mighty motherland by the popular mind in every part of India in spite of an unfavouring natural environment.

In modern times, the age of the improvement of transport, when the whole world has, so to say, been made smaller in size and is being centralised by railways, telegraphs and electrical machinery, when the ocean itself has been converted from a barrier into a broad highway of international intercourse, we can more easily and naturally realise the geographical unity of the whole of India. And besides, is not this unity apparent on the map? That country is geographically one of which the barriers separating its parts are less obstructive than those which isolate the area as a whole from surrounding regions. It is quite evident, and he who runs may read it; that India pre-eminently satisfies this test of unity. The great barrier of the north formed by the Himalayas, which may be easily rendered impregnable, effectually isolates the country from the rest of Asia, giving protection to it along a frontier of 2,000 miles, while towards the south the advantages of an insular position are secured by the sea. Thus sea-girt and mountain- \(\nu\) guarded India is indisputably a geographical unit.

As regards any insurmountable internal barriers, we hardly come across one. The Himalayas overlook the great plain, the Indo-Gangetic depression which covers an area larger than France, Germany and Austria put together, and supports more than one-half of the total population of India. This is the region of which Sir Richard Strachev has said: "It is no exaggeration to say that it is possible to go from the Bay of Bengal up the Ganges through the Panjab and down the Indus again to the sea over a distance of 2,000 miles and more without finding a pebble, however small." The whole region is of one uniform level, one continuous stretch of land uninterrupted by any barrier, covered with a network of rivers, railways and canals, where one sees only "unbroken continents of wheat, millet and

Indian corn, endless seas of rice and limitless prairies of sugar-cane and indigo," an evidence of agricultural wealth oppressive almost in its monotony. Nor is the Vindhya or Satpura range any serious barrier obstructing communication between northern and southern India. Scarcely rising more than 4,000 feet above sea-level, both the ranges are now pierced by road and railway, and did not even in the earlier ages seriously interfere with the spread of Indo-Arvan civilisation, the diffusion of Hindu culture and learning to the parts of India lying to their south which are, equally with the north, the great stronghold of Hinduism.

Lastly, among other natural features which distinguish India from other countries may be mentioned the seasonal winds or monsoons which have stamped on the whole country a unique aspect. They have created those hydrographical conditions which have made of India pre-eminently the land of agriculture and

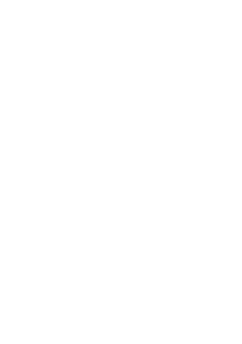
one of the best-watered regions of the world. The census reports show that about 73 per cent, of the total population of India is dependent on agriculture for livelihood. While it may also be ascertained from statistics that, out of a total of 226 million acres annually sown in British India, only 44 million acres lack the natural water-supply and have to be artificially irrigated by the contrivances of man. So that fully 80 per cent, of the total area sown is naturally irrigated by the rivers of India pouring down in their bounty the streams of plenty. There also stands out, as the result of the operation of physical causes, the broad fundamental and distinguishing fact that Indian civilisation has developed and rests mainly on a rice-basis and the national diet is practically vegetarian.

HIXXX

Thus has India been helped both by nature and nurture, by her geographical conditions and historic experience, by her religious ideas and political ideals, to realise herself as a unit, to perceive, preserve and promote her individuality in fulfilment of her heaven-appointed mission in the culture-history of the world. Indian thought occupies a distinct place in the evolution of human thought: Indian life has its distinctive part to play in the history of humanity. √Human culture would be incomplete and poor without its Indian contribution. The world is in need of India, a living, rejuvenated India-of the strength of her message, her cult, her faith. For what does India represent? "Not Universal Empire of the type attempted by the Eternal City, not Universal Spiritual Dominion like the Mother of all the Churches." India's gift to the world has been the fair fabric of an Empire, a Nationality, founded on the basis of Universal Peace (Ahinea, 1644), peace between man and man, and between man and every sentient creature; a fabric that was alas! ruthlessly shattered by the shock and collision of historic forces. For the Prime Maker of all history has perhaps ordained that the world should pass through the process of a painful historic development from the brute to the man.

√Standing alone now in the background of historic nationalities and teeming millions, India calls us to the Cult of the Spirit, calls the mighty nations of the earth to lay down their pride and hate, their sceptres and swords, and, with redemptive humility, love and sacrifice, to fight in union the forces of rebarbarisation

¹ E.g., the famous edicts of Asoka fully set forth the principles of Ahińsū and wide catholicity on which his great Empire was governed.



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that are fast turning whole continents into armed hostile camps. It is in that Indian Cult of the Spirit that Nations, like Individuals, will find their rest and peace and realise the democratic dreams of a World Federation or a Parliament of Man.

¹ This section is adapted from Dr. Brajendranath Seal's address to the First Universal Races Congress, London.

FINIS